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Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

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Selections.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TEXAS.

The signs of the times have seemed, during the past year, to indicate a renewed and more hopeful determination on the part of the slave power to accomplish its darling project of the annexation of Texas to the United States. The voice of the collective wisdom of several of the slave States has been heard demanding this new bulwark of their institutions. Influential members of Congress, such as Mr. GILMER, and Mr. WISE, of Virginia, have publicly expressed their hope and determination, that this unhallowed union should be completed. Servile presses in some of the free States have taken up the burden of their masters' song, and endeavored to lull the people into a false and fatal security. The organs of the small faction which the acting President of the United States has gathered around him, have been especially busy in preparing the way for this nefarious deed. It has been supposed that Mr. TYLER is desirous of signalizing his accidental administration by this event; and it was confidently expected that his late message would contain a distinct recommendation of the measure. If such were ever his intention, he changed his plan, for some sufficient reason, and only shadowed forth the possible event, in guarded, though pregnant phrase. With the usual consistency of the defenders of the interests of slavery, the President threatens England, by strong implication, with war, if she should interfere to procure the abolition of slavery in Texas, while at the same time he professes that humanity and justice demand that the United States interfere to put an end to the warlike posture which Mexico still maintains toward her revolted province. And he concludes this portion of his message with this meaning sentence: "The high obligations of public duty may enforce from the constituted authorities of the United States a policy which the course persevered in by Mexico will have mainly contributed to produce; and the executive, in such a contingency, will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the government in its course of action."

Perhaps this guarded and artful, but not less significant intimation of the deep design against the liberties at once of the slaves, and of the free States, was caused by the loud tone of remonstrance which has been raised against it by presses and members of all parties. Not long after the adjournment of Congress, an address was put forth to the people of the free States, warning them of this conspiracy, recounting the proofs of its existence, pointing out its fatal tendency, and inviting the people of all parties to unite to prevent the speedy and violent dissolution of the Union. This address was signed by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, and twelve other members of Congress. It was extensively read, and produced a wide and deep impression upon the public mind. Endeavors were made to throw suspicion upon this movement, from the fact, that most, if not all, of these gentlemen were whigs, and to create a belief, that it was a mere political manœuvre. Even if this were the case, of which there is no satisfactory proof, their motive could not impair the accuracy of their statements and the force of their arguments. The country is indebted to them for their warning voice, and if it is but heeded, it will be of but small consequence what motive induced them to utter it in the ears of the people.

The slaveholders of the South have never ceased to gloat with ravenous eyes upon the fertile plains of Texas, since their great natural wealth was disclosed, and since the exhaustion of their own luxuriant soil has called for a new world for the desolating conquests of slavery. But the more immediate cause of the sudden urgency with which the annexation of Texas is demanded, was probably the knowledge of a project—how extensively entertained, or how nearly matured, we have no means of knowing—of abolishing slavery with the assistance and co-operation of England. That such a result would take place, were the ancient inhabitants and the land-owners of Texas free from the duresse of the profligate banditti that have made that delicious country their haunt and spoil, is highly probable from the obvious inducements which an enlightened self-interest would hold out to such a course. But it is scarcely to be expected that a measure, which would be the deathblow of American slavery, would be permitted to take place without desperate resistance on the part of the slave interest in Texas, and that of their fellow conspirators in the States. It was doubtless to provide against this possible danger, that the late clamorous demands have been made for the incorporation of its territory with our own.

There can be but little doubt, that during the present session of Congress an attempt will be made to accomplish the purpose of this conspiracy against justice, humanity, and freedom. How or when it will be made, we cannot predict; but we may be sure that it will be at the moment when the watchful spirit of the North is least upon its guard. The subtle spirit of slavery has, in every instance, previously to the anti-slavery enterprise, been able to accomplish any end it proposed to itself, by force or fraud. The circumstance that it has been for once defeated, or at least delayed, in the accomplishment of one of its darling projects, will not be likely to deprive it of its determined purpose, or of its wily arts. It is not too much to say that the success or the failure of this project, involving as it does the dearest interests of the free as well as the bond, depends upon the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of the abolitionists. It was owing solely to their exertions that Texas was not added to the slave States seven years ago. At that time, though all classes of men professed in private to be implacable opponents of the annexation, and even would round you in the ear with their threats to dissolve the Union, and march upon the South should it take place, yet there could scarce a man be found, out of the ranks of committed abolitionists, who had the courage to sign a petition against it. And when, in the year 1838, Faneuil Hall was obtained for a public meeting to express the public sentiment of Boston on the subject, no prominent member of either of the political parties, though invited, ventured to attend it; nor did a political newspaper, with one or two exceptions, dare to print the proceedings, even as an advertisement! But even in those dastardly and truckling days, the abolitionists were enabled, by incessant watchfulness and labor, to present such a front of opposition to the South, that it sullenly relinquished its purpose for awhile. If, in those dark and evil times, we could disappoint the slave power, for the first time in the history of the country, of what it regarded as a vital measure, we may surely take heart, and hope at the present day, when we have brought even politicians to see that men may speak a word displeasing to their masters and yet live, and when so great a change has been effected in the moral perceptions of the general mind. If we were able to man the breach against the hosts of slavery when our numbers were but enough to make up "that hope misnamed forlorn," it would surely be unutterably disgraceful to us to permit them to sweep over all that we are set to defend, through our negligence or supineness, now that we have aroused a host ready to do battle at our call. Let us at least not be found sleeping on our posts. Let us arouse the country to a sense of its danger and the necessity of resolute action; and let the issue which we shall present to the slaveholders and to the world be—ANNEXATION AND DISSOLUTION.

MEXICO.

The arrogant and insulting attitude and tone of the government of the United States toward that of Mexico, remains unchanged. The insult offered to her territory by the piratical occupation of Monterey, on the coast of California, by Commodore Jones, remains unpunished. The intimation on the part of Mexico, that she should regard the annexation of her rebellious province to the United States as a declaration of war, afforded the President an opportunity of endeavoring to excite the prejudices and the passions of the American people against her in his message. Her internal policy and commercial arrangements are turned to the same account. No pains have been spared on the part of the slave interest and its abettors to create and foster a hostile feeling toward Mexico. The immediate cause of these demonstrations is doubtless to secure the annexation of Texas to the slave States; and the remote cause, the hope that the palaces, churches, and mines of New Spain, may yet afford golden spoils to a republican banditti. The language of the actions of the United States toward Mexico must be ever watched with jealous eyes by the abolitionists, for there is more in them than meets the eye or ear, and of the dearest interest to their cause.

ENGLAND.

The government and people of England still continue to direct their attention and their energies to the extinction of negro slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. Serious as are the charges that are brought against her public character and conduct, both with regard to her own subjects and to foreign powers, justice will not permit us to withhold the meed of praise due to her consistent hostility to these two forms of oppression. The directors of the East India company, moreover, have responded to the demands of the lovers of freedom, and emancipated nearly ten millions of East Indian slaves. GEORGE THOMPSON, to whom the anti-slavery movement in America owes so heavy a debt of gratitude for services rendered, and suffering endured, is now engaged in a mission to India, for the purpose of obtaining such facts and experience as will enable him to demand, with irresistible power, of the people, of England, the redress of the wrongs of India. At the last accounts, "the English felon," who escaped from our shores to save his life from our free and enlightened hands, was at the Court of Delhi, loaded with honors by the descendant of Timour, and appointed his envoy to the British court. We doubt not that a chief motive with Mr. THOMPSON to devote himself to the service of India is, his sagacious perception of the effect which the development of the resources of that mighty empire must have upon the fate of American slavery. To him and to the British India society do we look for more than incidental help. The day may not be far distant when the great battle for freedom will be decided, with their assistance, in the cotton-market of Liverpool, and when the peaceful emancipation of the American slave will be achieved on the plains of Hindostan.

We are indebted, more directly, to many men and women of England, for expressions of sympathy, and for substantial assistance, afforded during the past year. For the words of encouragement, and for their helping hands, we return them our cordial thanks.

THE STANDARD.

At the time of the annual meeting, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child retired from the editorship of the Standard, and it was assumed by Mr. David Lee Child. The long experience of this gentleman in the cause, (he having been one of the earliest members of the primitive anti-slavery society on the principle of immediate emancipation,) his literary ability, his intrepid spirit, his honesty of purpose, and magnanimity of soul, indicated him as one eminently fitted to fill the responsible station of conductor of the National Organ. Since Mr. Child entered upon his duties, which was not till two months after his appointment, he has discharged them with a degree of talent, sincerity and impartiality that must command respect even from those who deem his course in some particulars reprehensible. Ever since his appearence as editor, and indeed previous to it, he has been made the mark for the shafts of the organs and leaders of the third political party, who had in fact reason to dread the appearance of a man in the field, whom they could neither blind, cajole, nor intimidate. These clamors have produced dissatisfaction to some extent among the members of the society; and some of the best friends of the cause have been induced to regard the course of Mr. Child with doubt and uneasiness, if not with absolute reprobation. The cause of discontent is to be found in what is regarded as a strong leaning, or rather a decided adherence, to the whig party. Mr. Child is in no wise responsible to us for his course, any more than to any other individual member of the society; but justice requires us to say, that we have seen nothing in his individual conduct, or in his writings as editor of the Standard, that renders him obnoxious to the charge of making his anti-slavery character or functions subordinate or subservient to his political predilections. That Mr. Child is a whig in principle, is a fact of which he has made no secret, but is one with which we have no more to do than with his religious opinions, as long as he does not permit his practical development of the one any more than of the other, to absorb or to overbalance his anti-slavery principles. To say that he is, in any sense which should deprive him of anti-slavery confidence, a member of the whig party, when he has not only refused to vote for the regular candidates of that party, but has actually voted for candidates of the democratic party, on anti-slavery grounds, is unjust, not to say absurd. A man who conducts himself in this manner at the polls, we apprehend would be claimed by no party as a technical member, however he might agree with it on abstract points of public policy, aside from slavery.

It is unnecessary for us to say, that we dissent from many of the positions and opinions of Mr. Child, as maintained in the Standard; and especially from those respecting the obligations of the anti-slavery movement to Mr. Adams, and his relation towards it. On this point, as on some others, we clearly, totally and unanimously differ from him. The executive committee, doubtless, appointed him to the editorial chair because he was, upon the whole, the most suitable person they could find to fill it, having full confidence in his tried integrity of character and devotion to the cause. We cannot see that their just confidence has been abused. We will not affirm that the political preferences of Mr. Child, as to matters of public policy, may not have been inferable from some of his articles, in the same manner that the evangelical opinions of the editors of the Emancipator, in the days of its early fidelity, or of the spiritual theology of the last editor of the Standard, might be gathered from the tone or from the contents of some of their articles; but until we have other proof than has as yet been brought to our minds, we must deny that he has ever treacherously betrayed his anti-slavery trust into the hands of any party. And this is all that we have a right to demand of him. The political or religious opinions of an anti-slavery editor or agent are his own, and we may not quarrel with him about them, unless he make use of his anti-slavery position for their propagation. We may, in the exercise of our imagination, conceive of an ideal man, who shall regard the anti-slavery idea only in the light of pure reason, and do its work without feeling the influence of his other opinions; but until such a man can be found, we shall have to be content with men upon whose integrity of character and single-minded devotion to the cause we can rely for the due subordination of their peculiar views to their official duties.

The expression of every man's opinions, on any given subject, must of necessity be tinged by the opinions on other subjects which color the mind through which they pass; and for this he is not to blame. If, under pretense, and under promise, of disseminating a specific idea, he pervert the position and the advantages afforded to him for that distinctive end, to purposes of political partisanship or religious propagandism, he commits a crime, the meanness and treachery of which can hardly be exaggerated by language, and from which we have suffered too severely, in our anti-slavery experience, not to be deeply sensible of its mischiefs and its turpitude. Of this guilt we have had as yet no reason, nor do we believe that we ever shall have, to suspect the editor of the Standard.

ANTI SLAVERY FAIRS.

The treasury of the society is again indebted for most important help to the women of Massachusetts, upon whose intelligent and ready assistance we have always been able to count with certainty. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair was held during Christmas week, and the week preceding, with greater success than had ever before attended it. Amory Hall was beautifully decorated with evergreens, banners, mottoes, and pictures, and was thronged with admiring purchasers, although the weather was very unpropitious. The receipts exceeded $2,800, being an advance upon any preceding Fair. The Christmas-tree, at the Melodeon, was a beautiful and attractive spectacle, and did much credit to the taste, skill, and industry, of those who erected and adorned it.

A Fair was held at Hingham, beginning on the 30th of August, which was deservedly successful. The hall over the academy was adorned with much taste and elegance, and filled with an infinity of curious and useful things. The attendance upon it was large, the impression produced upon the town, excellent, and the pecuniary result beyond the warmest expectations of the friends engaged in it. Fairs have also been held, with excellent success, at Weymouth, Nantucket, Upton, and we believe, other places. The aggregate proceeds of all these efforts, must considerably exceed THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

The women of Massachusetts do not need these brilliant results to animate them in their zealous efforts for the hastening of the slave's deliverance; but they cannot help feeling the encouragement of such success. They know that the money taken, is but a very inadequate measure of the value of their exertions to themselves, to their own communities, and to the great public of the metropolis. We are sure they will not withhold this testimony of their sense of what is due to those that have no helper, until the deliverance of the slave shall bring their disinterested labors to a glorious termination.

THE THIRD PARTY.

Our opinion as to the inexpediency of a distinct anti-slavery political organization, which we have often expressed, remains unchanged. We still think that such an organization, under the most favorable circumstances, would be unwise, and of evil effect. We believe that our true policy is, to make use of the existing political parties to do our anti-slavery work for us, rather than to build up one for ourselves, the success of which must depend upon the extinction of one of the other two. We think we see the soundness of this philosophy illustrated in the legislative history of this State, which shows that we have obtained everything for which we have asked, (with the exception of the railway bill,) by the votes of members of both parties, without the expense of time and money involved in the inception and conducting of a third. We know that it may be claimed by a short-sighted politician for the third party, that a portion of these successes should be attributed to its efforts; but while we would not deny that the existence of that party may have had an apparent effect in producing these results; still, knowing as we do, the origin, character, and malign influences of that movement towards our enterprise, we cannot admit that its interference was of any genuine benefit; but we believe we should have gained more than we have achieved through the two other parties, had it not been for the interposition of the third party, which possesses no just claims to a higher anti-slavery character, than either of the other two. Whatever has been obtained of other States, and the small, but difficult progress made in the national legislature, are the results of the same policy. We believe that it is all-sufficient for the accomplishment of everything that legislation can do for us, and that still greater advances would have been made, had it been uniformly observed. We demand nothing that is inconsistent with the avowed principles of either party, fairly carried out. We ask the sacrifice of no principle or policy that either deems important. We are content that the power should be wielded by the one or the other, according to the prevalence of other ideas. But we demand of them both, to free the nation, to the utmost limits of their power, from the guilt, and from the punishment of sustaining slavery. Experience has shown, that such appeals have been of sufficient power to accomplish our purposes sooner and more effectually than we had, a few years since, any reason to hope. We cannot but think that the disinterested attitude in which we stood before the people and the legislature, produced a greater and speedier success, than if we had joined with the contending parties in a selfish scramble for the spoils of office.

While we have ever believed the true anti-slavery policy to be to act politically through the two existing parties, refusing political support to any candidate upon whom we could not depend to do our work, still we have never denounced an anti-slavery political party as necessarily a *malum in se*. This is a question of measures, upon which honest difference of opinion may exist. When such a party presents itself, it is to be judged like both the elder parties, not by its professions, but by its works. The professions of either of the other parties are good enough for our purposes; our objection to them is, that their organs, and candidates for office, are proved by their works, to be deadly enemies of the anti-slavery movement. The organs, and candidates of any party, are virtually THE PARTY. There are, doubtless, many individual members of a party, infinitely better men than these incarnations of it; but we must ever judge them by the company in which they are found. There is many a whig vastly more virtuous than Henry Clay, many a democrat that is a much better man than Martin Van Buren, or, than the editors of the Globe on the one hand, or of the Intelligencer on the other; but still, as long as they voluntarily continue in the rank and file of the party, they must expect to be characterized by the qualities of their leaders. So with regard to an anti-slavery party. It does not follow of necessity that it is more worthy of the confidence and support of abolitionists, because of its name or of its professions. It is to be judged, like all other parties, by its fruits;—by its candidates, by its leading influences, by its malign or favorable aspect towards the anti-slavery movement.

Our objections to the existing political organization, calling itself the "liberty party," have been freely expressed on former occasions, and need not now be recapitulated. We object to it, not because it is a "liberty party," any more than we do to the other parties, because they are "whig," or "democratic," but because, as in the case of those parties, we have found it arrayed in its prominent influences, against the anti-slavery movement. We have known its origin to be factious, its purpose the diversion of the awakening public attention from a corrupt church and clergy to the less guilty State, its measures malignant assaults upon the original enterprise, and slanderous attacks upon the private and public characters of the most faithful abolitionists. We have seen its leaders and members, with some honorable exceptions, while they profess that fidelity to the slave demands of his friends a total separation from the two pro-slavery political parties, still remaining in their pro-slavery sects, and giving their countenance and support to clergymen, and ecclesiastical bodies, steeped in the abominations of the slave-system, and the profligate hypocrisy of whose support of it as much exceeds the guilt of statesmen and political parties, as they transcend them in their professions of virtue and piety. We have seen it identified with the most malevolent species of "new organization," in the "Massachusetts abolition society," in whose possession its principal organ, "The Emancipator," of right belonging to the American Anti-Slavery Society, is now to be found. We find in the editor of that organ, and in the candidate of the party for the highest office in the nation, men who were members of the unfaithful committee of the American society of 1840, who consented to the "*transfer*" of the Emancipator, and of the other property of the society, and to the other malfeasances of that body,*

* For a full account of all these transactions, see the last annual report.

who joined the hostile organization, and assisted in its attempts to cripple and destroy the true anti-slavery movement. We know that there are good men, and true friends of the slave, in the ranks of that party, as there are in those of the other two, who are either not well informed of the character of the men who give its tone to the movement, or who have not duly considered it. We are assured that there are great numbers in the western part of the country, who look upon these men and these things, with our eyes, and who are resolved to separate themselves from them at the first opportunity. We think that these friends must see that there is no other way in which they can divest themselves of the character imparted to the general movement by its leaders; any more than a whig or a democrat can free himself from the color given to those parties by HENRY CLAY or MARTIN VAN BUREN, by the Globe or the Intelligencer, except by refusing to give them any countenance or support. While we think all the candidates for the next Presidency equally unworthy of the suffrages of abolitionists, we would not fail to urge upon those who regard the ballot-box as one of their scenes of duty, not to be found wanting to themselves or to the cause. Let them remember that a single vote cast on the highest principle of duty, is of infinitely more value and significancy than the election of the least of a choice of evils. We would suggest to voting abolitionists, the expediency of making temporary local nominations, previously to elections, for the sake of convenience and concert, without incurring the expense or the incumbrance of a regular political organization. But whatever shape their action may take, we would exhort them to see to it, that it flows from an unselfish and enlightened view of anti-slavery duty.

THE PLATFORM.

The crowning glory of the anti-slavery enterprise is the catholic character of its platform. It rejects no one from its ample expanse on account of country, condition, creed, profession, or color. All who are ready to enlist in the warfare against slavery, are welcome upon it. Men and women, Catholics and Protestants, churchmen and dissenters, orthodox and heterodox, clergymen and "*come-outers*," church members and Quakers, non-resistants and fighting-men, all can stand side by side upon it, and join in the common conflict, without any sacrifice of their method, or compromise of their principles. We do not insist upon all the champions of the slave being armed at all points alike, or directing their energies with the mechanical exactness of military discipline. Our hosts do not resemble so much the liveried uniformity of modern armies, as the picturesque variety of an old crusade. We quarrel with no man's armor or weapons, provided he use them with a true heart and a stout arm for the deliverance of the captive. If he do not use them thus with good faith and a resolute purpose, it is not our concern to turn aside to inquire into his right to possess or to wield them.

It is all-important that we preserve our platform sacred, and permit it to be employed for the destruction of nothing but slavery. There are many evil institutions and wicked practises in the world besides this coarse iniquity of negro slavery. But there is room enough in the world to attack and destroy them, without encroaching on the machinery devoted to that specific reformation. Civil government may be a divine or a devilish invention; a human priesthood may be a holy thing or a heresy; private property may be a natural or a foul and unnatural institution; but the gross physical chains of the slave can be struck off, and he be raised to a condition capable of progress, while all these things exist. On the anti-slavery platform the non-resistant is as good a man as the politician; the capitalist as he who abjures the accumulations of labor; the clergyman or the church-member as the Quaker or the "*come-outer*." They who have devoted time or money to the anti-slavery cause have a right to demand that that time and money be not diverted from an assault upon slavery to an attack upon their own opinions and practices; that when they come in good faith to join in the battle with the common enemy, that they be not obliged to defend themselves from the hands of their companions. If the politician use the political power, the non-resistant the moral force, the capitalist his money, the clergyman or the church-member his spiritual power and authority, honestly and in good faith, for the destruction of slavery, it is all that we have a right to ask. If they refuse so to use the various instrumentalities which they think it is their right and their duty to employ, then it is our duty to expose and denounce their inconsistency, not with our principles, but with their own, and to exhort them to a more entire fidelity.

An anti-slavery society is not a church—for it claims and possesses no power of excision or excommunication. An attempt was once made to change it into one, and exclude heretics and women from its pale; but it signally and ignominiously failed. We should ever be on our guard against the least disposition to exclude any human beings from our platform on account of their religious or other opinions. We need all the help we can get in this, our friendless warfare. Let us keep the true issue always before the people—that we demand of every man professing to be a friend of liberty, a faithful application of his political and religious opinions, of his moral and social influence, of the civil rights and the ecclesiastical discipline he feels it to be his duty or his privilege to employ for the suppression of any crime, to the extermination of slavery. And let us never be diverted from the contemplation and maintenance of this true issue to the false one, on this platform, as to the abstract truth and absolute rightfulness of any of those opinions or those practices. And this policy we believe to be, as an honest policy must ever be, the truest expediency. We feel assured that there is no description of men who would not prefer to defend the divine origin, or the abstract rightfulness, of their office or their opinions, than to have their inconsistency with their own professions, and their infidelity to their own standard of duty, exposed and denounced before the people.

From the British Churchman.

THE CONNECTION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH WITH SLAVERY.

To the editor of the British Churchman:

REVEREND SIR,—In addressing to you a few letters for the "British Churchman," upon the subject of slavery in our Church, I cannot forbear remarking, that you have imposed upon me a painful duty, although it is one from which I do not shrink, to expose to the gaze of our mother Church the sad backslidings of her American daughter; to let it be known to the right reverend prelates, the reverend clergy, and the true-hearted Churchmen of England, that their transatlantic brethren are, with few exceptions, the silent apologists or the open supporters of the vilest system of oppression that ever cursed the fallen world; that bishops who have vowed at the altar "to be kind and gentle, for Christ's sake, to all poor and needy people, and all strangers destitute of help," hold in a state of chatteldom some of their own people; and that the clergy, following their example, enslave members of their flocks, and traffic in souls committed to their charge, and from the pulpit vindicate the execrable institution by appeals to GOD'S Holy Word. This, indeed, is a task to call forth feelings of sorrow and the blush of shame; and I might well hesitate to perform it, did I not feel that, from such exposure, we may hope for the correction of the evil. If the English church once recognizes the actual position which we occupy in relation to slavery, she will, I am sure, utter a rebuke so loud and strong as to awaken the watchmen of our Zion; and our bishops and clergy, rising from their present crouching attitude at the feet of the despot, and casting off the degrading fetter thrown around them by a profligate public opinion, will stand erect in the dignity of the episcopal and priestly offices, to set an example of high consistency to all who call themselves by the name of Christians. Then will they cease to insult the Almighty Head of the Church, by erecting in his holy temples, and at his very altars, the barriers of CASTE. Then will they no longer drive with insult, colored Churchmen from their schools, and seminaries, and diocesan conventions, destroying the UNITY, and violating the ancient catholicity of the Church; but they will recognize them as brethren, and learn the lesson which was taught to Peter when Christianity was born, and which they have so wickedly forgotten, "*What* GOD *hath cleansed, that call not thou common.*"

The statements which I may give in this and future letters, will, I doubt not, cause surprise in England, and give offense at home; but, as they will always be supported by authority, and never exaggerated, no injustice can be done by these publications, according to an ancient maxim, *Veritas omnium justissima*. The subject is one not of theory, but of facts, and the character of American slavery—its influence, both upon the masters, the slaves, and the people at large—the direct and indirect support given to it by Christians of all denominations—and especially by our bishops and clergy, can be proved with a certainty of truth, by the clearest and most indisputable testimony, afforded by parties the most interested and the most guilty.

Great pains have been taken to represent the system as one of kindness and benevolence to the negroes, and of benefit to the masters and the State.

Governor M'DUFFIE, of South Carolina, subsequently a senator of the United States, declared in one of his messages to the legislature, "Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, *is the corner-stone of our republican edifice*. No patriot who justly estimates its privileges, will tolerate the idea of emancipation at any period, however remote. * * * God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generations, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery." And in order to defend this blessed corner-stone of the republic from the assaults of truth, he proposed to the legislature, that abolitionists should be punished "with death, without benefit of clergy."

The report of a committee in the legislature of South Carolina, in 1842, speaks of slavery "as an ancient domestic institution, *cherished in the hearts of the people at the South*; the eradication of which would demolish our whole system of policy, domestic, social, and political."

Mr. Calhoun, the present candidate for the presidency, declared in a speech in the Senate, "We regard slavery as *the most safe and stable basis of free institutions in the world*."

Mr. Stanley, member of Congress from North Carolina, the diocese of Bishop Ives, said in 1840, "*If* slavery is a grievance, it is a grievance to the white people of the South; *if* slavery is an evil, it is an evil to the whites; *that it is a blessing to the negroes, in their present condition, no man acquainted with the southern country, can deny.*"

A committee of the Mississippi legislature, in 1836, in a report recommending the annexation of Texas, that it might be cut up into slaveholding States, and thus give them a preponderance over the North in the national councils, said: "The system of slavery is held, by all who are familiarly acquainted with its practical effects, to be of highly beneficial influence to the country within whose limits it is permitted to exist. The committee feel authorized to say, that *this system is cherished by our constituents as the very palladium of their prosperity and happiness*; and, whatever ignorant fanatics may elsewhere conjecture, the committee are assured, upon the most diligent observation and reflection, that *the South does not possess within her limits, a blessing with which the affections of the people are so closely entwined, and so completely enfibred, and whose value is more highly appreciated, than that which we are now considering.*"

It would be easy to multiply similar eulogiums upon slavery, exhibiting the attachment of slaveholders to this revolting system. If they are true; if the institution is really a blessing, both to the whites and the blacks; if it is an act of mercy to the negro, to hold him in bondage, and reduce him to a level with the brutes; and if, moreover, this benevolent arrangement is "the corner-stone of our republican edifice;" then it is not strange that the Church is its firmest stay, and that right reverend bishops may be seen wielding the crosier with one hand, and the slave-whip with the other; and no churchman need wonder at learning that a clergyman of North Carolina, the Rev. G. W. FREEMAN, preached a sermon upon slavery in the presence of his diocesan, Bishop IVES, which was afterwards published with his full endorsement, in which he told his people, that "*No man, or set of men, are entitled to pronounce it wrong; and, we may add, that* SLAVERY, AS IT EXISTS AT THE PRESENT DAY, IS AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE:" or, that the Rev. Dr. Dalcho, of South Carolina, in a pamphlet entitled, "Practical considerations founded on the scriptures, relative to the slave population," &c. ventured to assert, that "Slavery is NOT forbidden by the divine law; so it is left to our own judgment, whether we hold slaves or not;" and further declared, that the rulers of nations, the fathers of families, &c. "and the owners of slaves, are each, in their respective spheres, the head of a moral government, in subjection to GOD, *for the good of society, the happiness of the people, and the glory and honor of God's name*:" or that other Episcopalians of distinction, both from the pulpit, and the professor's chair, have uttered similar sentiments, and have joined with the various sects of Protestantism, in reducing these sentiments to practice.

Of their actual participation in the system, the Rev. James Smylie, a Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, in a pamphlet published by him in defense of slavery, thus speaks: "*If* the buying, selling, or holding a slave, for the sake of gain, be a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven States of the Union, are of the devil. They hold, if they do not buy slaves, and with few exceptions, they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaways when in their power." These assertions are probably true. The dissenting ministers at the South have been, perhaps, even more bitter and malignant in their denunciations of the abolitionists, than the bishops and clergy; and many of the presbyteries and synods have, at different times, passed resolutions favorable to the sacredness and perpetuity of American slavery.

It is of importance, therefore, in considering the conduct of our Church, to know the true character of the system which its dignitaries are so fondly cherishing, and so determinedly defending. I shall quote none but southern authorities upon this point, and they will show beyond a doubt, that "American slavery, as it at present exists," to use the language of Mr. Freeman, is, in the words of Wilberforce, "a system of the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality, of the most unprecedented degradation and unrelenting cruelty."

"A slave," according to the Louisiana code, "is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master."

"Goods they are," says the civil code, "and goods shall they be esteemed." According to the laws of South Carolina, "slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, and reputed to be CHATTELS PERSONAL, in the hands of their owners and possessors, their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."

"The dominion of the master," says Judge Stroud, "is as unlimited as that which is tolerated by the laws of any civilized community in relation to brute animals, to 'quadrupeds,' to use the words of civil law."

From these definitions, and from other laws which might be quoted, it appears that slavery is a pure despotism, and that the slave is considered as a chattel, or a brute, and that this condition is made hereditary and perpetual to the latest generation. It is a natural result of such a state of degradation, that the slaves should cease to be practically regarded by those who hold them in bondage as human beings, and that this is the fact, may be shown by their own voluntary testimony.

Col. DRAYTON, of South Carolina, in a work entitled, the "South Vindicated from Treason and Fanaticism of Northern Abolitionists," says: "The Northerner looks upon a band of negroes, as upon so many MEN, but the planter or Southerner *views them in a very different light.*"

Mr. SUMMERS, of Virginia, in a speech in the legislature of the State, January 26, 1832, said: "When in the sublime lessons of Christianity, he (the slaveholder) is taught to do unto others as he would they should do unto him, *he never dreams that the degraded negro is within the pale of that holy canon.*"

The slaves are kept in the lowest ignorance, and debarred even from the word of GOD. A marked distinction is made by the laws between the whites and the blacks. "Offenses which cost a white man only a few dollars, are punished in the negro with death;" and slavery inflicts upon the free people of color the most grievous oppression. In supporting this system, our national government openly participates. In the District of Columbia, under its exclusive control, it exists unrebuked.

The capital of our republic is a great slave market, where traders in human flesh are licensed at 400 dollars a year. And this price of blood is poured into the coffers of the nation. The public prisons are appropriated for the use of the traders, and slavers freighted with "cargoes of despair," regularly ply between Alexandria and the southern ports. Gangs of slaves, fettered and handcuffed, are occasionally driven along, within sight and hearing of the legislative halls, and while slaveholding demagogues in the House of Representatives are declaiming about the blessings of freedom, on the platform of the auctioneer, in the immediate neighborhood, men, women, and children, are exposed for sale, their persons examined with brutal indelicacy, and amid obscene jests consigned by the stroke of the hammer, to endless, hopeless servitude. And this is the system which the American Church is upholding.

In future letters, I may give some extracts from the writings of Southern statesmen, showing what an awful curse is American slavery; and a sketch of the efforts which abolitionists have been making for its extinction during the last ten years, and of the opposition they have met from those who should have been foremost to assist them—the shepherds and pastors of our beloved Church. This opposition, long continued, bitter, and malignant, has given an alarming impulse to infidelity, as frightful in its effects as it is melancholy in its cause.

I will expose the constant influence in favor of slavery exerted by the "SPIRIT OF MISSIONS," the official organ of the Board of Missions, which some months since openly defended slavery upon principle, declared that "Christian prudence" demanded its continuance; and proposed that Churchmen should buy slaves for endowment of a mission school.

I will show the continued maintenance of CASTE in the Church, the horrible oppression, by her highest dignitaries, of her colored children; and especially the recent canon passed in the diocese of Pennsylvania, on the recommendation of Bishop H. U. ONDERDONK, excluding all colored churches and clergymen from seats in the convention, giving them leave to govern themselves; thus violating both the letter and the spirit of the constitution, destroying the unity of the Church, and creating a fearful schism.

I can show, also, God be thanked! that defenders of the truth are arising among our clergy, who, fearing neither the threats of a pro-slavery rabble, nor the cry which has been echoed from the seat of the episcopate, of *fanaticism!* and *amalgamation!* are coming forward boldly to sustain the purity and honor of the Church, and aid in strangling the cruel monster which has encircled her in its hideous folds, and is devouring so many thousands of her sons and daughters. Among those who have assumed this manly and consistent ground, are the Rev. B. P. AYDELOTT, D. D., President of Woodward College, Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Rev. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, of Hartford, Connecticut, who is known in England, by his "Christian Ballads," and "Athanasion," as one of the poets of the Church.

"A system is going on in our body politic," said this divine, in a sermon lately preached, on the day appointed by the authorities for "public thanksgiving," "which saps and drains the land of its energies, and the proprietor of his conscience and his manliness; which makes temples of the HOLY GHOST chattels to be sold under the hammer with dogs and oxen; which annuls every precept of God with respect to chastity and the sacred matrimonial band; which destroys the natural right of parents to their offspring; and reduces thousands of human souls to an absolute dependence upon the caprice of wicked men—for such they often are, and may be—not only for food, and raiment, and shelter, but, above all, for *bread of life*. Yes, my brethren; while we are compassing sea and land, to make one proselyte, millions around the doors of our churches are, by statute, denied the Holy Scriptures—and, sometimes, the least glimmer of spiritual light. *Oh! what a mockery to talk of evangelizing the world, with lips sealed, and hands stained by such a system as this at home!*"

GOD grant that our mother Church will not withhold counsel and rebuke from her American daughter, when they are so much needed, that by her silence and apathy, in the face of so great wretchedness and so wicked oppression, she may never deserve to be addressed in the language of the prophet —"the diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick."

AN AMERICAN CHURCHMAN.

New-York, *January* 30, 1844.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

The time at which our last edition was put to press, did not permit of an opportunity to give an account of the anniversary-meetings, which took place during the week. We now give a summary of the meetings in the order of their occurrence; excepting our own—the American Anti-Slavery Society—of whose anniversary and business meetings we have a sufficiently accurate report which will be found in another column.

The first anniversary meeting took place on Sunday evening. It was that of the

NEW-YORK BIBLE SOCIETY.

On this occasion there was no report read, though the secretary gave a flattering account of the condition of the society. Its object is to distribute the Bible to the destitute of this city. One of the results of this society is the library of the city prison. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Professor Bascom, of Kentucky, of the Methodist persuasion, whose theme was the excellence of the Christain religion. This gentleman has a high reputation for oratorical talent, and consequently many hundreds had to leave the Tabernacle, without being able even to obtain a peep of the reverend orator.

On the same evening, the annual discourse before the Foreign Evangelical Society was pronounced by the Rev. Doctor Bethune, of Philadelphia, in the Dutch Reformed Church on Washington Square. The discourse was good. The church was crowded and large numbers were unable to gain admittance.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

Sixteenth Anniversary; Tabernacle: Monday evening.—The report estimates that there are two millions of men whose lives are on the sea, and whose social and moral improvement is the object of this society. Scattered along the coast from Eastport to New Orleans, there are many similar institutions, by means of which a new impulse has been given to the efforts of the seamen's friend.

The Marine Temperance Society numbers sixteen thousand members, and the Sailor's Home in this city, under the protection of this society, has had within the last year, 4,114 sailor boarders—being 1,136 more than the year preceding. Most of the inmates of this house are members of some total abstinence society, and attend divine worship.

The society sustains missionary operations at Gottenburg, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Havre, Sidney, Honolulu, Havana, and other ports. The society, we regret to hear, owing to the expense of fitting up that noble establishment, the Sailor's Home, is embarassed in its principal operations.

CONVENTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

A convention met at the Apollo Hall on Monday evening. Vice-Chancellor McCoun, of New-York, president, and Messrs. Cow

ly useless as a protection to society from crime, and it aims at no other end.

2. It looses sight of the important fact, that the criminal is a human being, capable of reformation and regeneration.

3. It is based upon the false assumption that the criminal has no claim upon the care and charity of society, and that their duties are not reciprocal.

4. It legalizes and sanctions the bloody spirit of retaliation.

5. It pours contempt upon our common humanity; and refuses to recognize the worth and sanctity of man's life.

6. By its demoralizing influence it debases and brutalizes the mass who witness it.

7. It teaches the thoughtless and passionate a lesson of crime by showing them death inflicted as the proper punishment for an offense done; and

8. It is absolutely irremediable, placing us in the horrible possibility of shedding innocent blood, and thus doing a wrong utterly beyond recall.

Resolved, That in the Christian law of love, which is the true and only law of well-being to society as well as individuals, the spirit of revenge has no place, being expressly and decidedly condemned in the teachings of Jesus; and that consequently capital punishment inflicted upon the principle of retribution, the only ground upon which it can properly stand, is most unchristian and unrighteous—a palpable violation of the spirit and letter of the New Testament.

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to leave no honest and honorable effort untried to promote the abolition of the punishment of death, so that the stain of blood shall no longer defile the statute books of a people calling themselves civilized and Christian.

Resolved, That we recommend the newspaper called "Anti-Draco," published by the New-York Society, to the favorable notice of our friends, and earnestly advise its general circulation.

Dr. Patterson accompanied the presentation of these resolutions with an eloquent address in their support. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Thomas, of Brooklyn, Mr. W. H. Channing, the Rev. Mr. Spear, of Boston, and C. C. Burleigh, of Philadelphia, when the resolutions were adopted, together with one to publish the proceedings:

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Monday Evening. Seventh anniversary. This board is exclusively Presbyterian. From the report it appears that the receipts of the past year have been $74,374 07, and the expenditures have exceeded this sum by $200 12. The board has 3 missions in Texas—in Galveston, Independence, and Victoria; 3 among the Indians—the Iowas, the Chippewas, and the Creeks; 2 in Africa; 2 in India; 1 in Siam; and 1 in China. There are in the foreign field 80 missionaries. The education of native preachers is an important part of the missionary enterprise. There are 5 missionaries now ready to go to China; and it is proposed to establish in that empire 3 additional missions. The missions generally are in a very encouraging state of progress. The Indians are desirous of having their children in the schools. The Iowas have appropriated $2,000 annually from their annuities for the support of the Christian religion. The Rev. Drs. Miller, of Princeton, and McCarty, of this State, addressed the meeting.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS.

Tuesday Morning. The president, Rev. Dr. Milledoler, stated some interesting circumstances relating to the origin of this society.

The project was first presented to the Dutch Reformed Church for consideration in October, 1814, when a committee was appointed to ascertain the number of Jews in this city.

This committee reported in (November 6th,) 1816. This society was organized December 30, following.

The Rev. Mr. Frey was engaged by the society to preach in the city of New-York, and sent forth as their agent.

The treasurer's report was then presented, showing that the society has now in its funds $5,521 11.

Jews in the city 10,000—of every 100, 52 are German.

Rev. Dr. Cone addressed the society—also the following gentlemen: Rev. Mr. Smith, Rev. Dr. McCarty, Rev. Dr. Scudder, and Rev. Dr. Dewit.

FEMALE MORAL REFORM SOCIETY.

Met Tuesday Evening. The society has issued many publications, and several females have found with it a safe home. It has also done much to arouse the public to the necessity of legislative action.

SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

Celebration, Tuesday. The processions of the children were formed in the afternoon; one division marching to the Tabernacle and the other to Castle Garden, at each of which places there were exercises of singing, and prayer, and speaking. In the evening the anniversary meeting was held. There are one hundred and seven schools, of which 101 are in operation, of various denominations, embracing 22 mission schools, not sectarian. The number of male teachers is 1275; female teachers 1398. The Sunday School Union is in a prosperous condition. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Stone, Babcock, and Stockton.

FOREIGN EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.

Met Tuesday evening. Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen in the chair. He said this society was not foreign merely as it regards the benighted heathen, but intended to reach such benighted lands as France, Switzerland, and the adjacent countries. Many of these old countries had long required the light of the gospel, to bring them under the power and the goodness of God.

The finances of the society are in good condition.

The Rev. Mr. Baird read a variety of extracts from the annual report setting forth the labors of the society in Europe and in Canada for the reformation of the Roman Catholic world. From Germany they had received the most encouraging prospects, and particularly from the Gustavus Adolphus Society, instituted in honor of the great Protestant reformer whose name it bears; during the past year the agents of the society had converted 52 persons in France and Belgium, 2 in Switzerland, and several in Canada. Among other objects for which the society had successfully labored was the spread of the true faith in Italy, but of the means used therefor, it would not be prudent to speak in public. They had remitted the sum of 10,000 francs to Switzerland, which had been the means of sustaining 50 Colporteurs—beside supplying a number of school teachers. It was the belief of the society that there now existed less feeling among the French priests against the labors of this society than formerly. They looked at the matter in a political point of view, for in the event of the death of the present king, there would be another revolution, and then they said, "What will become of us if the people remain in their present state of ignorance?" and they looked to the circulation of the Scriptures as one means of augmenting their real influence among the people.

The meeting was also addressed by Messrs. Stone, Wolf, Baker, and Kirk.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Met Wednesday morning in the Tabernacle. The honorable Theodore Frelinghuysen, president of the society, in the chair. Prayer by the Reverend Jeremiah Day, president of Yale College.

The following is an abstract of the annual report. Receipts for the year $108,774 84, leaving a balance in the treasury of $290. The recipts of the society have exceeded those of the previous year by over $12,000; the gratuitous issues of publications by more than seven million pages; the foreign pecuniary grants by $5000; and the number of colporteurs employed is more than double.

Printed	Volumes.	Publication.	Pages.
during year,	217,000	5,536,000	96,118,000
Circulated do.	192,480	4,937,684	91,471,456
Do. in 19 years,	2,118,886	73,340,753	1,391,325,907

About 12,000 volumes in German, and 80,000 Christian almanacs have been circulated during the year, and the total circulation exceeds that of the last year by 10,500,000 pages. Of one tract, the Holy Ghost Resisted, 200,000 have been printed within the year.

Gratuitous distributions of publications to the destitute, made in 974 district grants by the committee, have been for foreign lands 1,659,816 pages; to seamen's chaplains, shipping for foreign ports and on lakes, canals, and rivers, 1,137,956; to home and domestic missionaries, 758,900; to auxiliary societies, 2,140,052; distributed by colporteurs and agents of the society, 10,948,982; to Sabbath schools, literary, humane, and criminal institutions, and individuals, 1,119,189,—total 20,773,996 pages; besides 3,541,125 pages delivered to members and directors. Total gratuitous issues, 24,315,121 pages, in value $16,210 08.

There have been 102 colporteurs in employment during the year, and in the United States nearly 36,000 families have been each supplied gratuitously with a book, and thousands with tracts. The cost of publications distributed gratuitously is $7,300.

The meeting was addressed by the Reverend Messrs. Stowe, Morris, and Malcolm. The honorable Theodore Frelinghuysen then made an exhibit of the present operations of the society.

EXHIBITION FOR THE BLIND.

Met at the Tabernacle Wednesday afternoon. Ninety-four pupils—the whole number in the institution lacking one—were present. The girls, who formed the larger portion of the school, were all dressed in white. Anson G. Phelps, the president of the Institution, presided. The exercises of the pupils, which consisted of singing and recitations in the branches of study taught in the institution were interesting. The meeting was addressed by David B. Ogden, Esq.

NEW YORK COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The society of this State met Wednesday evening. Its report states the receipts at $3,044 66, and expenditures at $2,333 55, during the past year. The society desires to impress upon the public mind the fact that there is an increased desire among masters to liberate their slaves, and more are waiting to be conveyed to Africa, than can be conveyed thither with the means now at the command of the societies. One hundred slaves in Virginia alone, are waiting to be conveyed to Africa. As to the practicability of colonizing the whole slave population of the United States, it had been said that all the slaves could not be removed from the United States, if all the military as well as the commercial marine of the country could be obtained, and yet by the statistics of the slave trade, hunted over every sea as that piratical trade was, by the armed squadrons of Great Britain and of America, it yet contrives to transport, in five years, as many Africans as are in slavery in the United States.

THE HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

Met Wednesday evening in the Tabernacle. Receipts for the year, $101,904 49. In the treasury, $2,589.

It appears that the society has had in its service, during the past year, 907 ministers of the gospel, of whom 670 were in commission at the date of the last report, and that 237 have been since appointed. The fields of their labor are in 26 different States and territories of the Union, in Canada and Texas; and the number of congregations and missionary districts supplied, in whole or in part, with the preaching of the gospel, is 1,245. The aggregate of ministerial labor performed, was computed at six hundred and sixty-six years. The number of missionaries in commission, is greater by 50, than that of any preceding year, and the number of congregations and districts supplied, shows an increase of 198. In Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa, alone, there had been an increase of 68 missionaries; and thus is the society extending its operations westward.

The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Badger, of Boston; Baldwin, of Illinois; Rogers, of Boston; Stone, of Ohio; and Todd, of Massachusetts.

NEW-YORK PEACE SOCIETY.

The sole object of this society, is the abolition of war. It has been organized but a short time, and held its first annual meeting on Wednesday evening. From an address by the Rev. G. C. Beckwith, secretary of the parent society, it appears that the first peace society in the world, was organized in this city, as early as August, 1815, but for years before, individuals had been inquiring into the subject, and so simultaneous was the movement, that the Massachusetts peace society was established in December, 1815, and the London society in June, 1816, all without any knowledge of each other's existence.

In England, the venerable and excellent Dr. Bogue, so long at the head of the missionary seminary in Gosport, called attention to the subject in an eloquent discourse delivered in 1813, and not only published in his discourses on the millenium, but subsequently stereotyped by the London peace society, as one of their tracts. In 1821, the society of Christian morals, embracing peace as one of its objects, was established at Paris. In 1828, the American peace society, as a bond of union among the friends of peace through the United States, was organized in this city by the agency of the late William Ladd; and the Geneva peace society, in Switzerland, began its career in 1830, under the auspices of the late Count de Sellon.

The constitutional principle of the society is, that war, being inconsistent with Christianity, and the true interests of mankind, ought to be abolished.

Amasa Walker, e-q. and the Rev. Messrs. Belcher and Kirk addressed the meeting.

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The twenty-eighth anniversary of this society was held on Thursday morning, at the Tabernacle. Honorable John Cotton Smith, president of the society, gave an account of the doings of the year. The following is a brief extract of the report.

The number of new auxiliaries added in the course of the year, is *forty-six*.

The receipts from all sources, are $154,440 05, being an increase of $27,991 05, over those of the year preceding.

The number of Bibles and Testaments printed, is 284,000, and the number issued, 314,405. The increase of issues over those of the previous year, is 97,800 copies, and making an aggregate, since the organization of the society, of 3,584,683 copies.

Two of the vice presidents have died the past year, Judge Thompson, of New-York, and Judge Magruder, of Maryland.

The semi-annual meeting, held at Cincinnati, last autumn, was so useful in its results, that the board have concluded to hold a similar one at Richmond, Virginia, early in December next.

The number of agents employed through the year, has been ten, and a few others a part of the year.

Five hundred Bibles, and fifteen hundred Testaments, have been granted to the American tract society, and as many to the American Sunday-school union, to supply the destitute in places where the Bible society has no auxiliaries.

Similar grants, differing in quantity, have been made to various missionary boards, for home distribution.

Grants of books have then been made for Texas, Key West, St. Croix, St. Thomas, Hayti, Mexico, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Oregon, West Africa, Italy, and Hong Kong, in China.

Grants of money have been made for printing the scriptures in France, Switzerland, Russia, Turkey, Syria, Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, Siam, Lodiana, and the Sandwich islands, amounting in all to about $24,600. In no former year has the society accomplished so much as in the last, and never were there such encouragements in prospect, both at home and abroad, for a hearty and enlarged co-operation in spreading the sacred volume. Let every Christian, and every patriot, join in the work.

The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Hamer, Babins, Pierce, and Fisher, and Hiram Ketchum, and Theodore Frelinghuysen.

(To be continued.)

AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

BUSINESS MEETINGS,

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FOR 1844.

The American Anti-Slavery Society met, for the transaction of business, on Tuesday, May 7, in Concert Hall, at half-past 3 o'clock.

The meeting was called to order by the president, William Lloyd Garrison. The following persons were appointed as secretaries: William A. White, Paulina S. Wright, and C. L. Remond. On motion of Wendell Phillips, a committee of twenty-five was appointed, to bring before the society the necessary business. The president nominated as the committee: Wendell Phillips, Peter Libby, S. S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Abby Kelley, Caroline Weston, J. M. McKim, Edmund Jackson, E. D. Hudson, Edmund Quincy, Ellis G. Loring, J. S. Gibbons, E. M. Davis, C. L. Remond, C. C. Burleigh, H. Clapp, jr. A. Ballou, Francis Jackson, W. P. Powell, Thos. Earle, Joseph Southwick, J. Hutchinson, F. Douglas, J. C. Hathaway. On motion of W. Phillips, the president was added, and power given the committee to add to their number. On motion, Joseph C. Hathaway, Isaiah C. Ray, and G. S. Burleigh, were appointed a committee on finance and the roll.

C. C. Burleigh moved that the question of amendment to the Constitution of the society, be taken up. The amendment proposes that the executive committee may be located wherever the society may direct, it being necessary, under the existing provision, that a majority of the committee shall be located in New-York. The amendment is as follows: In article 6th, strike out the words "in New-York," and insert "in such part of the country as the society, at its annual meeting, shall determine."

The passage of the amendment was discussed by Wendell Phillips, Abby Kelley, Parker Pillsbury, and H. Clapp, jr. The last gentleman incidentally alluded to the "Anti-Slavery Standard," its principles not being in consonance with his views. He considered the tendency of that journal to be leaning towards Henry Clay and the whig cause; and although he believed the *Standard* to be honest and sincere in its sentiments, he wished to expose what he considered as adverse to the cause which it advocated. The discourse of Mr. Clapp was mainly an avowal of his political opinions, as relating to the advancement of anti-slavery.

The amendment was passed unanimously.

A motion was then proposed that the executive committee be located, during the next year, in Boston. This was discussed by Messrs. Buffum, Brown, Green, Clapp, Van Rensellaer, Foster, and Libby. It was contended that, to appoint the station at Boston, would be going too far from the seat of slavery, and the beneficial action of the society might thus in a measure be lessened. On the other hand, it was said that Boston is "head quarters" of the anti-slavery cause, and that its friends look to that city for its chief support. On motion, the subject was laid on the table. The treasurer's report, for the year ending May 7th, 1844, was presented, and referred to Ed. M. Davis, and Christopher Robinson, as an auditing committee. The following resolutions were then presented by Wendell Phillips:

Resolved, That the only bright spot we can see, in the foul plan of annexing Texas to this country, is the hope that the very depth of its infamy may stun the drunken indifference of the people into sobriety, and awaken them to the duty of trampling under foot a Constitution which has brought them nothing but disaster and disgrace.

Resolved, That in the easy credulity with which the mass of the people receive the paltering equivocation of leading statesmen on the subject of the annexation of Texas, we see the clearest evidence that it will take place ere long—that we hereby protest against such annexation, in the name of the Constitution, of Justice, and Humanity, as utterly null and void; and record our conviction that, upon its consummation, there is nothing left for the people of the free States, but to call a convention to frame a better Constitution, and form a real Union.

Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power, have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union, rivets the chain of the slave—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the ruins of the present American Church, and the grave of the present Union.

Resolved, That the abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of their agitation to dissolve the American Union.

The action on these resolutions was deferred, and after a song, by Jesse Hutchinson, the meeting adjourned till Wednesday morning, at half-past 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, May 8, 1844.

The society met, pursuant to adjournment, at Concert Hall. At half-past 9 o'clock, the meeting was opened with prayer by Mr. Van Rensellaer. The motion, which was laid on the table yesterday, that the executive meetings shall henceforth be held in Boston, was brought up for consideration, and unanimously carried. The resolutions offered yesterday by Mr. Wendell Phillips, being in order, a motion was made to amend the first clause, by inserting after the word "Texas," the words "with the avowed purpose of sustaining slavery." The amendment was opposed by Mr. Phillips, who contended that the annexation of Texas to the Union is merely wanted to further the slaveholding system, by adding more strength to that despicable cause. Mr. *Earle* viewed the question in an opposite light. Mr. *Child* gave an epitome of the past history of Texas, and an epitome of the probable results, should the plan of Senator Walker be successful; and he believed that the annexation of Texas would be a terrible blow to the anti-slavery cause. He believed that the abolition of slavery in Texas could be effected without annexing it to this country. He agreed with the friends who had preceded him in asserting that the Constitution did not authorize the act of annexation, and that the measure, if successful, would be the beginning of a national career of conquest, usurpation, and rapine, which would terminate like that of Rome, in a military despotism, and the enslavement of the people.

Dr. *Smith* hoped that the resolutions would be passed against the annexation of Texas. He believed the opinion of General Murphy, that slavery could not exist there ten years longer, unless it was annexed. So long as Canada exists on the North, Texas and Mexico on the South, and the West India islands as places of refuge for the slave, the power of slavery must be gradually diminished, and in the end, its existence entirely cease: facts proved these conclusions, and he hoped strong measures would be taken against annexation.

Mr. *Garrison* followed; he said that he was convinced that interested parties would not hesitate to allow a temporary abolition of slavery in Texas, and when their end was accomplished, they would reinstate it in all its terrors. Mr. G. contended that the government had no power to annex a free republic to our own; it is a thing unheard of, and the Constitution warrants no right to such a course. As is the case with individuals, so it is with nations—the more they have, the more they want; they desire to accumulate, to grow larger, and this is the real secret of the matter.

Mr. *Foster* considered the present discussion as irrelevant to the business of the society. Can we not preach anti-slavery as well when Texas is annexed, as at present? It matters not how physically strong are our opponents; our weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. I do not advocate the dissolution of the Union because it will weaken slavery, and such are my sentiments in relation to Texas. I would rejoice to see Texas annexed; it would be the downfall of slavery; it would be a benefit, and not an injury to our cause. Mr. Garrison says that the Constitution does not allow the annexation. Do we not desire, in this place, to annihilate the Constitution; and what weight, then, has the objection? It is irrelevant to the whole matter, and I can see no reason why we should oppose the annexation of Texas.

Mr. *Child*, in reply, said that we had no right to do, nor permit evil, that good may come. We had no right to annex Texas, nor to forbear to resist it, in order that we may abolish slavery therein, even if it were certain that such would be the effect. But how was that effect to be produced, except by resisting the measure, and arousing against it the abhorrence of the free States, as a shameless and nefarious scheme for the extension and perpetuation of slavery; and the corrupt and pernicious power and influence in our national councils, emanating from slavery. The annexation, we are told, will be the destruction of slavery, and in the same breath it is proposed to abandon that opposition to the project, and that exposure of the nefarious design of its authors, which can alone insure the destructive consequences to slavery, so confidently predicted!

Mr. *Buffum* stated that although he was opposed to annexation, he was also opposed to the attempt to trample down the Constitution of the United States; and he protested against the action of this meeting, in recommending a dissolution of the Union. Such a measure was calculated to keep the sympathy of the American people away from the cause. The Constitution was not at fault, it was the executive body who misconstrued that instrument, and upheld principles it did not contain; and if the true intent and meaning of the Constitution were adhered to, there would not be a single slave in the United States. He trusted that the time was now at hand, when the Supreme Court would decide that every human being not confined in prison for crime, and by the just course of law, was a free man. He moved that the clause reflecting against the Constitution, should be stricken out. This was seconded by Mr. White, and the resolutions were finally laid on the table.

Dr. Smith then presented the following preamble and resolution:—

Whereas, It appears from the criminal statistics of Massachusetts, that there was in 1843, one in 21 of the free colored people of Massachusetts in jails and houses of correction; therefore,

Resolved, That this society instruct its agents in Massachusetts to inquire,

1st. Whether this is the result of emancipation on the free colored population; or

2d. Whether it be the consequence of those now in jail being escaped slaves from the South, wherein petty larceny is not punished by imprisonment, and have committed those crimes in ignorance; or

3d. Whether it arise from the unequal administration of punishing the free colored people on less evidence, and more rigorously, than the whites.

The passage of the above resolution was discussed by Messrs. Smith, Burleigh, Phillips, Hathaway, and Van Rensallear. Mr. Earle wished the subject brought generally before the people, and he therefore presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we respectfully recommend to Congress the instituting of an inquiry, by committee, as to whether the census of the United States in reference to the proportion of deaf, dumb, insane, blind and idiots, be correct; whether the largest proportion of aged people is found among the slaves or the free people of color; whether the free colored people as easily escape conviction, and receive as short a sentence for crime, as the whites; which are most clear of larceny, the slaves or the free people of color; whether the free colored people are more addicted to crime than recently emancipated whites, or other oppressed persons of other nations, and which is the most moral in all respects, the emancipated population of the West Indies and of the United States, or the slaveholding population of the southern States.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be signed by the officers of this society and read before both Houses of Congress.

These resolutions were adopted unanimously.

On motion the society adjourned to meet again at half-past three.

On Wednesday afternoon the meeting was called to order by the President. The resolutions before the society were laid on the table, and the following offered as a substitute by Wendell Phillips:

Resolved, That political union in any form, between a slaveholding and free community, must necessarily involve the latter in the guilt of slavery.

Therefore Resolved, That secession from the present United States government is the duty of every abolitionist; since no one can take office, or throw a vote for another to hold office, under the United States Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor of the slaveholder in his sin.

Mr. *Foster* remarked that the above resolutions were of the utmost importance to the society. On their passage depends the question, whether the anti-slavery society will countenance the American Constitution in upholding slavery, as I firmly believe it does. Mr. F. avowed himself opposed to every form of government, be it what it may, which upholds so disgraceful an institution.

Mr. *Buffum* said that he was opposed to the passage of the resolutions. He regarded the general principles of the Constitution as the foundations of all civil government. The question is, whether the Constitution is such an one as we should amend, improve and modify; or is it one that we should utterly destroy and annihilate. I admit that the government and the Constitution has been entirely under the slaveholders, and devoted to their interests; that during the last forty years it has constantly supported them, but I also maintain that the fault is with the people of the non-slaveholding States. The proportion of the non-slaveholding to the slaveholding States is about 2 1-2 to 1, and yet we have permitted the southern States to dictate to us who shall be our rulers, so that in point of fact the government has been a slaveholding government. The public sentiment of the people of the United States is paramount to the Constitution, and controls it. That instrument is entirely subject to them, and when public sentiment desires it, it will be changed. I believe that the feelings of the people are now coming up; and that in a short time an amendment will be added, declaring every person in the United States to be a free man. This is the view I take of the Constitution, and the reason I am opposed to its denunciation. I will denounce the government as much as any one, for there the fault lies. My friends say, that when the whigs have been in power, everything has gone wrong—so say I; but I also say that when the democrats have been in power the case has been no better. I have come to the conclusion that southern aristocracy is the devil, and I offer it as a solemn theological doctrine. I have seen the effects of it in other lands, where white slaves suffer all the misery and degradations of those in this country. I repeat, that the principles of the United States Constitution, I regard as the only true principles of civil government, and I feel bound to cling to them as the sheet-anchor of our national existence.

Mr. *Loring* opposed the resolutions.

Mr. *Phillips* said that many of the arguments were on words, and not on things; on form, and not on substance. The Constitution is a political connection in which the great interests of the several States are fused and mingled. It never intended a confederacy of power, for that is vested in the people alone, and not in the distinct States. The popular voice had adopted the Constitution under which the slave States held the right of property in their fellow-men, and the people were as deep in the guilt, as the States now upholding it, in defiance of the laws of justice, and the rights of humanity. Every vote given by a free man at the ballot-box, made him a partaker in the guilt of slavery, and was virtually acknowledging the right of the slaveholder. He would support the resolutions to obtain a similar result, as did Daniel O'Connell, when, by the force of moral power, he thundered at the halls of British legislation, and saw his fellow Catholics emancipated. We are told that the dissolution will deluge the South with blood. Such assertions experience does not sustain. In modern times, when any free portion of a country, has separated from a slave portion, the result has always been that the slaves have gone with the free. Every day we have supported the Constitution, we have added one tier to the cannon already pointing to the dungeon of the slave. It is true we have grown prosperous under this Constitution, but we had been better, and greater, and richer, if we had not had that Constitution. The Constitution is the direct abettor of slavery, and as such it ought to be abolished.

Mr. *Earle* objected to the resolutions because he regarded them as sylogisms, which had no connection with the important question at issue. In reply to Mr. Phillips, he observed that Daniel O'Connell did not desire his countrymen to vote because their votes could not turn the result in their favor. He advised a contrary course, and to persevere in the right till victory be secured. Mr. Earle advised every abolitionist to vote for his anti-slavery candidate, and not to despair of doing any good because all could not be at present obtained.

At this time the discussion was discontinued, and it was decided to take the vote on the question, at 11 o'clock on the succeeding day. After a song from the Hutchinsons, the meeting adjourned till Thursday, at 9 o'clock.

Thursday, May 9. The meeting was called to order at 9 o'clock, by F. Jackson, and opened by a song from the Hutchinsons. The resolutions relative to a dissolution of the Union were taken up, and Mr. Earle offered the following amendment:

Resolved, That it is the imperious duty of the northern States immediately to dissolve their connection with slavery, either by an alteration of the Constitution, or a dissolution of the American Union.

The resolution was laid on the table to allow a motion to be introduced requesting the speakers to confine themselves within fifteen minutes each. The motion was lost. The discussion being resumed, the following address on the subject of the resolutions was read by the President:

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, on this, its tenth anniversary, and at this crisis in the history of the country, would make a fresh declaration of its principles, and more clearly define its future action, to the American people, respecting the national compact.

In regard to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the inhabitants of the land, it holds—

1. That such enslavement is the embodiment of the greatest amount of impiety toward God, and of outrage to man.

2. That under no circumstances is it to be excused or tolerated, especially among a people claiming to be republican and Christian.

3. That it convicts the American nation of being perfidious, hypocritical, oppressive and atheistic, beyond all parallel or competition in the history of nations since the creation of the world, inasmuch as they proclaim it to be a self-evident truth, that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

4. That, being a heinous sin, it is retributively a terrible scourge; being at war with human rights, it is necessarily at war with human interests; being omnipotent in its sway, it is naturally insatiate in its desire for unlimited extension; being a denial of the brotherhood of the human race, it is consequently the acme of inhumanity, and the "sum of all villanies."

5. That it ought to be immediately and forever abolished.

In regard to the existing national compact, the society holds—

1. That it is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell;" inasmuch as it was effected by a bloody compromise, which is still in force, involving the sacrifice of millions of our race on the altar of slavery.

2. That it enjoins obligations and duties, which are incompatible with allegiance to God, and with the enjoyment of freedom and equal rights.

3. That the natural consequences of it have followed its adoption, in swift and frightful succession—to wit: the wide extension and vigorous growth of slavery and the slave-trade—the multiplication of the victims of oppression from half a million to nearly three millions—the establishment by law, in one half of the country, of a vast system of lewdness, robbery, murder, and heathenism—the denial of the right of petition, and the free exercise of speech in Congress, the imprisonment and enslavement of northern seamen in southern ports, on account of their complexion—the complete subjugation of the general government to the will and service of the slave power—the utter corruption of the politics, morals, and religion of the people—the robbery of the North of its hard-earned wealth, to a vast amount, and the degradation and impoverishment of northern laborers—and, finally, the outlawry from one half of the republic, of every out-spoken, and uncompromising friend of God and liberty.

4. That, however just or equal in theory, it being in practice, an insupportable despotism, duty requires the friends of impartial liberty, and a righteous government, to withdraw from this compact their support and allegiance, and by a moral and peaceful revolution, to effect its overthrow; in accordance with the doctrines laid down in the American Declaration of Independence, namely: "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of human rights, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses, and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

5. That no harmonious or just political union can possibly exist between freemen and tyrants, nor will they ever attempt to form any such union; because they serve two rival deities, worship at two different altars, pursue fiercely antagonistical interests, estimate the rights of man by two different standards, and seek the downfall of each other. Henceforth, therefore, until slavery be abolished, the watchword, the rallying cry, the motto on the banner of the American Anti-Slavery Society shall be, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!" To accomplish this sublime resolution, the society registers its sacred pledge—

1. To sound the toesin of "disunion from slaveholders," continually in the ear of the nation.

2. To spare no pains to convince the people of the North, that they cannot remain in partnership with menstealers, without being involved in the guilt and danger of the slave system; and, therefore, it is their duty to cease co-operating with those monsters, in the same government, and under the same Constitution.

3. To make withdrawal from the actual government a prominent subject of discussion in its official organ, the Anti-Slavery Standard.

4. To put into the field, as far as its means will allow, able and uncompromising advocates of immediate and unconditional emancipation, a free government, and a true independence.

5. To give no countenance to any political party, which is in favor of continuing in alliance with the slaveholding States, or which is for allowing slaveholders to act in the national halls of legislation, or for entrusting them with any of the interests of freemen.

6. To persuade northern voters, that the strongest political influence which they can wield for the overthrow of slavery, is, to cease sustaining the existing compact, by withdrawing from the polls, and calmly waiting for the time when a righteous government shall supersede the institutions of tyranny.

7. To inculcate throughout the free States, a pledge for signatures on the part of men, women, and children, that they will faithfully co-operate with each other, on the comprehensive basis of disunion from slaveholders, and withdraw from all active participation in the affairs of the present slaveholding government of the United States. And, finally,

8. To endeavor to effect, by all just and peaceful means, such a change in the public sentiment of the North, as shall convince the South that nothing but the immediate abolition of slavery can make us a united people.

Certain that its present position is sustained by reason, justice, humanity, freedom—impregnable to every assault—revolutionary, only as it is reformatory—the most decisive and the only consistent issue that can be made with the slaveholding oligarchy—carrying the battle to the gate, and assailing the enemy in the very citadel of his trust—and relying for success on the prayers of the good, on the benedictions of the oppressed, on the smiles of approving heaven, on the promises of divine revelation, and on the victorious arm of the God of Justice—the American Anti-Slavery Society goes forth to the conflict with a serene countenance, a chastened enthusiasm, an elastic step, and a courageous spirit; without stopping to ascertain how many are prepared to rally under its standard, or what new toils, sacrifices, and trials it may be called to encounter. To be in the right is to be more than multitudinous on the score of numbers, and in the path that leads to a sure and glorious victory; and who that fears God, or loves his fellow-man, or reveres liberty, or compassionates down-trodden humanity, will not say it is right to give the cry to the four winds of heaven, in a tone louder than the roar of the surging ocean, and mightier than the voice of many thunders, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS?" Friends of freedom!

"Conspire! conspire!
Singly, ye shall be weak as water!
Singly, like sheep to slaughter,
By tyrants evermore ye shall be led.
Singly, each one of you must stand,
Weak in his single strength—his own right hand
His only shield—his head
Exposed to every dart unhelmted.
Thus tyrants have subdued,
And do, and will subdue,
The many to the few!
Oh! men—too long of falsehood and of feud,
But victims made anew—
At last conspire!
In one immortal cause as brothers blend,
To one immortal end!
Be knit with one desire—
Think as one mind, and move
As one gigantic body, strong
To cope with injury and wrong!
Holy 'conspiracy' of brothers!
Uplift your myriad hands!
Oh! not to strike or wound—not unto others
To do as they to you have done.
No! when God looketh on,
Be you in contrast—not comparison!
Therefore, conspire!
Together breathe, as one—
Together say,
In the great name of peace, 'consternation's fire,
Do we put out, and, spite of wrong and ire,
Proclaim, that none gainsay—
Justice and right be done!'"

Mr. *White*, in opposing the resolutions, stated as his reasons for so doing, the assertion that the North supported the South in its iniquitous course. He contended that no custom could bind down any people if they wish to rise or assert their opinions. The power of the Constitution rests entirely on the will of the people.—Does Great Britain, abolitionized as she is, exert more influence on the South than old Massachusetts? We had no right to pay for the Florida war; and I say that my friend is inconsistent in remaining here—he paid for its support. Let him say that he will not wear clothes, because they pay a tax; that he will bear the cold of winter, and the heat of summer, rather than aid, with a single cent, in supporting his blood-stained country. I am astonished at my friend Garrison, in reading the address he has just finished, following, as it does, in the steps of John C. Calhoun, to cut the throats of our citizens, and deluge the country with their blood. It is stated that the oath to the Constitution binds those who take it, to support it in all things. Such is not the case. The Constitution only binds me to do what it says, or to take the penalty of disobeying; and I stand ready to submit to that penalty. The main objections to the course of my colleagues are, 1st. Because it is making my conscience subservient to another man's conscience; and 2d. Because I do not think it is the quickest way of giving freedom to the slave. There is now a tornado sweeping down the hills of New England, which will carry away these towering obstacles. It comes rushing from the mountains, and will destroy them like the force of Niagara. The mighty tide of public sentiment will sweep all away, and cleanse the Constitution as the river of old did the Augean stables. Let us discuss the subject, but not repudiate the Constitution. Let our agents go forth, if they please, and discuss it; but do not tell me I am not an anti-slavery man, because I do not pull down the Constitution, which I believe has very little to do with it. If you wish to have an illustration, go to Philadelphia, to the "City of Brotherly love," see the smoking houses and the bloody streets, within the last three days, and look how futile are laws, when opposed to public sentiment! If the people refuse to obey the laws they are a dead letter. Let us keep the channel between the North and the South forever open. I confess that there are blots on the Constitution, and there are blots on anti-slavery. Let us take out the bright spots, and replace the dark ones, but not mingle anti-slavery with something with which it has nothing to do.

Mr. *Remond* stated, that from the time the question was first mooted in Boston, relative to the dissolution, he had given it his hearty support, and to this time, he had not changed his sentiments. The great struggle of the revolution was, gained by the shedding of blood; and had the patriots of the revolution as much cause to shed blood as the 2,700,000 slaves, now in chains in this country? Suppose I wish to go to Louisiana or to South Carolina, or suppose I wish to put my foot in the District of Columbia, on the soil named after the father of his country,—of what use is the Union to me? What Union was there to John L. Brown. Mr. Remond then narrated the well-known particulars of that interesting case. Mr. White would have the liberators of the country like a jug-handle, all on one side. There are rewards now pending on the head of William L. Garrison; and shall we then hesitate to dissolve a Union in which such outrages are countenanced, because a man has spoken his sentiments, and defended the rights of humanity. I go for freedom whatever be its cost, peaceably if possible, but for freedom at all events. I shall be the last one to prevent the slave taking his freedom in any way he pleases; they are the best judges of the proper course, and to them I leave it. I value freedom more that the Constitution, supported as it is by the tears, the blood, and the toil of 2,700,000 human beings, to say nothing of the millions now teeming in the womb of futurity, and to suffer the same misery and despair. I go for the dissolution, as the means for a glorious end.

Dr. *Smith* thought that the tone which should be given at this meeting would control the general feeling of the people of this country. He avowed himself opposed to the dissolution of the Union. What was it that saved John L. Brown, when he was sentenced to death? It was the voice of the American Union. If it had not existed, he would long since have been a mouldering corpse. Dissolve the Union, and you deluge the South with blood, and you have no right to shed one drop.

Mr. *Foster* said, that on the result of this question depended the fate of the anti-slavery society, and it therefore merited the gravest consideration. It seems that the question is not viewed in its true light. Its true point is obscure in the minds of several of our friends. The movement is emphatically a moral movement, and nothing can be done by physical force; and if slavery is ever abolished in this country, it will be done by the force and power of truth. I contend, that as long as you are contented with this government, you are contented with the guilt of slavery. If there be only one way in which I can be absolved from this sin, I will do it. I deny that I have any relation to this government, except to wage an exterminating war against it. The government makes every man a slaveholder, whether he will or no; and I will never consent to support it. Mr. Foster explained his sentiments in relation to the implication the payment of taxes involved. When I buy a piece of cloth, I get an equivalent for what I gave—I pay no tax in such a case, and I shall never pay one. A person is only a taxpayer when he is a portion of the government, and in no other case. The levying of taxes is mere robbery, and I no more pay when I am taxed, than I do

Such were his words, and if living up to the Constitution we will support slavery, the sooner we get rid of it, the better. To the northern slaveholding States we are indebted for the safe guard of the Union. This is the language which comes from the South, and I ask if it is not *prima facie* evidence that the Constitution supports slavery. The Union is the great basis of slavery. Mr. Brown illustrated the fallacy of the arguments of some of his opponents by a familiar anecdote. I would have the Constitution torn in shreds, and scattered to the four winds of heaven. Let us destroy the Constitution, and build on its ruins the temple of liberty. I have brothers and sisters in slavery. I have seen the chains placed on their limbs, and beheld them carried captive. We have nothing to do with the consequences resulting from the dissolution of the Union. Let us do what is right, and let the consequences take care of themselves. We want a ruling point, and if these resolutions are passed, we will have accomplished it. When the patriots of the revolution struck the blow for liberty, they did not ask what would be the consequences!

Mr. *Van Rensellaer* rose, he said, to correct a mistake. We do not wish to tear up anything. We merely say we will have nothing to do with the government; and as regards the Constitution, that we will have nothing to do with the instrument.

Mr. *Garrison* said, that he felt the present was a most interesting and momentous question, for the society to which we belong, and to the cause in which we are engaged. It will also be an important era in the history of our country. We have been a slaveholding people for upwards of two hundred years. We have, during that time, been getting deeper and deeper in iniquity. How plain may we see the intention of avenging Heaven.—When the Pennsylvania Hall was burned, we warned them that the cup would be presented to their own lips; and the time has come. How meet it is, that they should taste blood! No man can tell where shall end the scene of civil war and bloodshed which has begun in Philadelphia. We are now preparing a measure which, if adopted by the society, will convulse the country afresh. I hope, therefore, we shall know what spirit we are of. I counsel action, for I believe it is the only step which, in the present circumstances, will avail. Mr. Garrison continued his arguments in support of his position, and in illustration read the following extracts from the report of Mr. Adams, from the committee appointed in December last, on the resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts, in behalf of himself and Mr. Giddings:

The subscribers are under a deep and settled conviction that the provision in the Constitution of the United States, as it has been and is yet construed, and which the resolves of the legislature of Massachusetts propose to discard and erase therefrom, is repugnant to the first and vital principle of republican popular representation; to the self-evident truths proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence; to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States itself; to the letter and spirit of the Constitutions of almost all the States of this Union; to the liberties of the whole people of all the free States, and of all that portion of the people of the States where domestic slavery is established, other than the owners of slaves themselves; that this is its essential and unextinguishable character in principle, and that its fruits, in its practical operation upon the government of this land, as felt with daily increasing aggravation by the people, correspond entirely with that character. To place these truths in the clearest light of demonstration, and beyond the reach of contradiction, the subscribers proceed in the order of these averments to adduce the facts and the arguments by which they will be maintained.

The property thus represented under the name of persons, is held not only by the violation of the rights of human nature in those persons, but in deadly hostility to all other property held in the community, and to the interests of its owners. The great mass of the slave population is held by the holders of land, and of course are exclusively confined to the rich. The proportion in numbers of the slaveholders to the free population owning no slaves varies greatly in the several States, and in different parts of the same States. It is perfectly clear that every civil and political privilege conferred upon the owners of slaves is not only at war with the principles of equal liberty, but at war with the rights and interests of all the free citizens not holding slaves. It constitutes, in its most odious form, the division of the community into the two classes of rich and poor, and bears on its face the most odious features of an *oligarchy*. In such a State, the slaveholders hold all the reins of power, and the whole mass of the free population, scarcely enjoy more freedom than the slaves themselves.

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By this process it is that all political power in the States is absorbed and engrossed by the owners of *slaves*, and the overruling policy of the States is shaped to strengthen and consolidate their domination. The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities are all in their hands—the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of the black code of slavery—every law of the legislature becomes a link in the chain of the slave; every executive act a rivet to his hapless fate; every judicial decision a perversion of the human intellect to the justification of *wrong*. The governor of such a State will tell you, with a frown, that the institution of slavery is the corner-stone to the temple of liberty. The chancellor of such a State will declare that the self-evident truths are the *ornamental* parts of the Declaration of Independence.

This investment of power in the owners of our species

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of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. To call it an aristocracy, is to do injustice to that form of government. Aristocracy is the government of *the best*. Its standard qualification for accession to power *is merit*, ascertained by popular election recurring at short intervals of time. If even that government is prone to degenerate into tyranny, what must be the character of that form of policy in which the standard qualification for access to power is wealth in the possession of slaves? It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened.

Mr. Garrison proceeded to review the above extracts. He then mentioned the assertion which has been mentioned relative to the decreasing influence of the society. He said it was true they had numerically decreased, but it was merely the excrescences which had left, and of those who remained it might be said, that "One shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight." He maintained that the prospects of the society were never in more flourishing and prosperous condition than at the present moment. In relation to the vaunted power of the ballot-box and the various appeals made to its influence, he asked, What did Jesus Christ with a ballot-box? What did the great reformer, Martin Luther, with a ballot-box? Had Father Matthew, or Daniel O'Connell a ballot-box. I hold the ballot-box to be Pandora's box. If we give up the elective franchise the moral power will still be left to us, and we can wield it with double force.

Mr. *Child* said, that Martin Luther's conduct was the reverse of that which was now proposed for American reformers. He continued in his allegiance to a Catholic sovereign, to that which was directly antagonist to his principles, and after many years that sovereign became, through Luther's instrumentality, a convert to Protestantism. Daniel O'Connell, also, instead of severing his connection with the oppressors of his country, takes his seat in parliament, under his oath of submission and fealty to the Constitution, and the crown. Mr. C. considered the address and resolutions as a form of *comeoutism*, to which he had always been opposed, *as a rule of associated action*. Those who approved it, and found themselves impelled to it by their convictions, and feelings, did right to adopt it; but not to attempt, by the power of the anti-slavery organization, to impose it upon others, whose feelings and convictions were different. The question was not at all whether we should sanction, or condemn the doctrine of comeoutism, as applied to the Constitution and Union, or to any of our civil, social, or religious ties; but simply, whether it should be made a canon of the society, and to the extent of its authority, and its agencies, a matter of coercion. Mr. C. then entered into an argument to show, that by being born, and living in the country, we contracted an obligation to support the Constitution, and took an implied oath of allegiance, from which we could not be exonerated, without self-banishment; that, after all that our *comeouters* might say, or resolve, they were still supporting, and would support the government, just as any other citizen; that they were paying a tax on the *light* which entered this hall, on the *carpet*, and the *shoe-leather* they trod, on the *salt* of their porridge, on their *hats, parasols*, and *gloves*; that to do this, and especially to do it to maintain Florida wars, and a slave-catching army and navy, was admitting a wedge into their comeoutism, which would split it in pieces. Mr. *Ballou* inquired of Mr. C. whether he did not admit a difference between voluntary, and involuntary support of government? Mr. C. said he certainly did; but remaining in the country is not involuntary. We would not remain, if the alternative were to fly, or to kidnap a brother! It would be inconvenient to go out of it; but an argument from inconvenience, cannot be permitted to overcome one of principle and duty. Comeouters, therefore, do exercise a discretion in remaining in the country, paying taxes, being enrolled in the militia, and thus making part of the physical force which overawes the slave, and supports and secures the master. This discretion is no other than that which I claim to exercise in regard to all associations, civil, ecclesiastical, domestic, and political. By the simple fact of paying taxes, and being enrolled and numbered among the oppressors, comeouters furnish me all the justification I require for continuing any relation, which I sustain, or may form, provided always, that it be with the intent, and have, in my judgment, the best tendency to the extirpation of slavery. The *quo animo*, or intention of an act, is the great question in morals, as well as law; and if I continue with slaveholding or pro-slavery associates, for the purpose of converting them, or destroying slavery, I am as innocent, and may be as meritorious as I should be to come out from them. Luther did not come out from the Elector Frederic, and his court, nor does Daniel O'Connell, from the queen and the house of commons.

Mr. C. referred to the experience of the society, and the former dissensions in the anti-slavery ranks, to illustrate the evil of introducing tests and distinctions not established by its constitution. Although these were not strictly binding on the members of the society, so as to exclude them for non-conformity, they would operate, and were designed to exclude them, for that cause, from every important agency and trust. It was enforcing, by authority of the society, the opinions of certain members, of the society, and attacking with its organized force, the opinions of certain other members, thereby making them, in their societary capacity, antagonist to themselves as individuals. He could not forget that an attempt was made by a former executive committee, and its sectarian friends, to impose upon us the use of the ballot-box, as "a religious duty," and a test of anti-slavery fidelity in all cases. None resisted this attempt more strenuously than the author [Mr. Garrison] of the proposition before us; a proposition, not to compel abolitionists to vote in all cases, but to restrain them from voting in any case!

Mr. *Earle* spoke in opposition to the address, and finally the question was laid on the table, after an attempt to obtain a vote for the previous question. A song of the Hutchinsons succeeded, and the meeting adjourned till Friday, at 8 o'clock.

Friday Morning. The meeting was called to order by the President. A short discussion took place relative to the question before the society, after which Henry Clapp, jr. offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, no institution is more hostile to the anti-slavery movement than the professedly Christian Church in this country; and whereas, fromher prominent position, her high professions, her deep hold upon the affections of the people, and her immense influence, she ought to be first among the foremost in the ranks of freedom; and whereas, by countenancing our connection with so base an institution, we do thereby surround the system of American slavery with holy sanction, and entrench it behind religious bulwarks; therefore, Resolved, as the deliberate opinion of this society, that it is the duty of every true abolitionist to withdraw entirely from the support of said institution, and to hold her up before the people as hypocritical in profession, infamous in practice, as having usurped the name of Christian Church, and as being one of the greatest obstacles in the way of immediate emancipation.

The resolutions were passed without discussion.

The annual report was presented by Mr. Child, and a motion was made by Mr. Jackson, that the reading the report be dispensed with, and the report referred to the executive committee to take such action as they may see fit. After a debate on the subject, the motion was adopted.

The following resolution was offered from the business committee:

Resolved, That we highly disapprove that part of the recently published letter of Cassius M. Clay, because it implies that it is right for us to vote for a sinner, to commit sin as an official agent, merely because that sinner may not himself have seen the sin in the light in which we see it, thus making the eyes of the candidate instead of the voter, the guide of the voter's action: and because he intimates that it will be right to vote for a slaveholder at the next election, but wrong forever afterward—propositions that we consider utterly at war, not only with sound morality, but also with practical common sense.

The two following amendments were offered by Mr. Child:

Resolved, That we hail with delight, Cassius M. Clay's late act of justice and humanity, in emancipating his slaves, and his noble attitude against slavery in a slave State.

Resolved, That we regard with satisfaction the letter of Henry Clay, in relation to the annexation of Texas.

The whole subject was laid on the table.

The report censuring John Quincy Adams, offered by *Thomas Earle*, from a committee appointed at the meeting of the society in Philadelphia was offered. It was moved by *Dr. Smith*, to amend it by inserting the clause, that the society cordially approve of the noble stand taken by J. Q. Adams, in the House of Representatives, in behalf of the right of petition. The subject was finally laid on the table, and the report ordered not to be printed during one month, unless a minority report by Messrs. R. Purvis, and D. L. Child, shall be sooner ready to accompany it.

The following resolutions were offered by H. Clapp, jr. and on motion, *laid on* the table:

Whereas, the bishop of New-York, and the priest of St. Philips Church of this city, with other priests, at the last Sunday School anniversary of the Episcopal church, in visiting the superintendents and individual schools, until they came to the colored school attached to St. Philip's church, and passing by them, and only them, thereby showing a gross piece of prejudice; therefore

Resolved, That we do regard such treatment as unchristianlike, and not becoming the sacerdotal robes of the Church of the apostolic seccession.

Resolved, That the superintendent and teachers of St. Philip's Church Sunday school in continuing in Christian fellowship with a church with so pro-slavery a head, and in supporting their present priest, plainly show that they are willing to be the degraded and proscribed portion of the Episcopal Church, which they are.

Resolved, That the vestryman and members of St. Philip's Church, who figured so conspicuously in the recent anti-Calhoun meetings, held by the colored people to express their disapproval of John C. Calhoun's *expressed* falsehoods, &c. cannot with principle, sit down tamely under the preaching of either the bishop of New-York, or the priest who officiates at their church, without expressing their disapproval of the bishop's and the priest's *active* unchristianity, and false position.

The following resolution was offered by the business committee, and adopted:

Resolved, That the warmest thanks of this society be given to the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and the abolitionists and philanthropists of Great Britain, generally, for the sympathy, indignation, and horror, which they have so promptly and powerfully exhibited, in the case of John L. Brown, who was sentenced to the gallows by Judge O'Neal, of South Carolina, but whose punishment was subsequently commuted to a public whipping, for having mercifully aided a helpless female in escaping from the pollutions and horrors of southern slavery: and that we assure them that their remonstrances and entreaties will powerfully tend not only to influence other legal decisions in the southern States, but to hasten the overthrow of the American slave system.

The following resolutions were presented from the business committee, and finally adopted:

Resolved, That this society repeats its often previously expressed opinion, that such abolitionists as may think fit to vote, ought not to support any candidate for office, who is not openly favorable to the abrogation of all law and constitutional provisions within the sphere of his action, which in any manner sustain or sanction slavery.

Resolved, That this society desires, by itself, and its agents, to preserve entire neutrality between the political parties, in reference to all questions not palpably connected with the abolition of slavery.

The time having arrived for the question being taken on the resolutions, and report, relative to the dissolution of the Union, it was taken by yeas and nays, and decided in the affirmative: the vote being 59 yeas, 21 noes.

The original resolutions of Wendell Phillips were taken up, and passed.

The amendments of Mr. Channing, and Mr. Earle, were taken up. Mr. Channing's resolutions were withdrawn as an amendment, and made one of the series. It was passed. Mr. Earle's substitute was rejected.

The following protest was read by Mr. William A. White, and ordered to be entered on the minutes of the society. Mr. White also requested his name to be withdrawn from the roll of the society, for the reasons set forth in his protest:

I protest against the action of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the adoption of the disunion resolutions, because I believe that action amounts to the adoption of a creed founded in a certain outward act, which is based on the conscientious feelings of another, and virtually does away with my rights of conscience, as a member of this society, and because it narrows the platform of our society, and virtually annuls the constitution.

WILLIAM A. WHITE.

The following protest was read by Mr. Loring, and ordered on the minutes:

The undersigned, members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, protest against so much of the action of the present annual meeting, as undertakes to prescribe to its members the abstaining from voting, and from every other form of political action under this government, as AN ANTI-SLAVERY DUTY, because they view the novel test thus set up, as intolerant and presumptuous, in its spirit and tendency, and as narrowing the anti-slavery platform; and because, while they regard the prescribed course of action as not required by enlightened conscience, they regard the proposition as impracticable, and as calculated justly to impair the character and influence of the society.

D. L. CHILD, ELLIS GRAY LORING,
JNO. H. BYRD, DAVID JOY,
TH. S. CAVENDER, JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,
J. S. GIBBONS, ABNER SANGER.

The following protest was read by Mr. Earle, and ordered on the minutes:

The undersigned protest against the course of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in adopting the address and resolution in reference to the duty of abolitionists, to abstain from voting at the polls.

1. Because it proposes a course of policy which the undersigned believe calculated, if generally pursued by abolitionists, to retard the cause of emancipation, and to be precisely the course which all the crafty advocates of slavery would wish us to pursue.

2. Because it is in opposition to the evident doctrine of the constitution of the society, and condemns as improper, an instrumentality which that constitution contemplates as proper.

3. Because it does not confine itself to deciding on the most effective means of emancipation, but assumes the province of an ecclesiastical tribunal, in settling questions of conscience, not involved in the original design of the society, and is an attack upon the conscientious convictions of the minority, of the same character as that which is said to have been formerly attempted by new organizationists, but repudiated by this society—they having proposed to decide, that it was the moral duty of every abolitionist in the country to go to the polls and vote for public officers, and the present measure being a decision that it is the duty of all abolitionists to abstain from such voting.

4. And because it does not go far enough for consistency, inasmuch as if voting under the Constitution be a criminal participation in slavery, the paying of taxes under it, is equally so; and it would tend far more to excite the nation to the overthrow of slavery to refuse to pay taxes, than to refuse to vote, and could not be accompanied with the same pernicious loss of power in the community.

5. Because the course is adopted almost exclusively by the votes of non-resistant opponents of all human governments, of such character as have ever been instituted, and is, in effect, an exclusion of all but that class, from the society, or a requisition upon them to sustain, by their contributions, and countenance, the doctrine of opposition to human government; for no government ever was, or ever can be devised, which will not, in some one or other of its features, be wrong, in the opinion of a large portion, if not a majority of the people; and if all who disapprove one feature of the goverment, were to cease from voting, government itself must either cease, or fall into the hands of an oligarchy of the most unprincipled character ever witnessed.

6. Because it proposes to dissolve the American Union, and our membership of it, before having petitioned for a change of the objectionable features of the American Constitution.

THOMAS EARLE,
ARNOLD BUFFUM,

Mr. William A. White gave notice that, at the suggestion of his friends, he withdrew his previous request, relative to leaving the society. Ordered to be entered on the minutes.

The committee on nominating officers, presented the following report, which was adopted:

President—WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

Vice Presidents—Nathan Winslow, Maine; Weare Tappan, New Hampshire; Rowland T. Robinson, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Massachusetts; Peleg Clarke, Rhode Island; John Gunn, Connecticut; Joseph C. Hathaway, New-York; Robert Purvis, Pennsylvania; Joseph Parrish, New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Abraham Brooke, Ohio; David Wilson, Indiana; Robert Stewart, Illinois; Zephaniah Platt, Michigan.

Corresponding Secretary—Maria Weston Chapman.

Recording Secretary—Wendell Phillips.

Treasurer—Francis Jackson.

Managers—Oliver Dennet, Ruth Morrill, Geo. Ropes, Maine; Theodore P. Moses, John A. Richardson, Daniel Cogswell, New Hampshire; Jedediah Holcomb, Sumner Lincoln, James Slaton, Vermont; Seth Sprague, Samuel J. May, Amos Farnsworth, Andrew Robeson, William Bassett, Wm. Adam, George W. Benson, Massachusetts; Thomas Davis, William Adams, Amarancy Paine, John Brown, Rhode Island; George Sharpe, Wm. Bolles, Butler N. Strong, Luther Bartlett, Connecticut; Thomas McClintock, Frances Wright, Abraham Van Eps, Ezra C. Smith, Wm. C. Bloss, Joseph Post, Stephen W. Brown, Mary Springstead, Cyrus Thompson, Samuel A. Green, New-York; Lucas Gillingham, John Atkinson, New Jersey; James M. McKim, John Sellers, jr. Elijah Pennypacker, William H. Johnson, Jonathan P. Magill, Edwin Fussell, Pennsylvania; Robert Hanna, Joseph A. Dugdale, David Galbraith, Lydia Irish, Abraham Allen, Elizabeth Robinson, Ohio; John Sanborn, David Wilson, Indiana.

Executive Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, Edmund Quincy, Charles Lenox Remond, Anne Warren Weston, Wm. Henry Channing, Joseph C. Hathaway, Sarah Pugh, Sidney Howard Gay.

Mr. E. G. Loring stated that John Gorham Palfrey, Secretary of State of Massachusetts, had, by the death of his father, a planter in Louisiana, become the legal owner of twenty slaves; and that as the legislature of Louisiana had refused to permit him to emancipate them there, he had now gone thither with a view to bringing them into the free States. Eight or ten were to come to New-York, and the rest to Boston. Mr. Loring stated that as they were of all ages from infancy to sixty years, and that as Mr. Palfrey's means were limited, it was very desirable to procure situations, where they might begin to earn an honest living as soon as possible. He therefore requested that persons disposed to receive them, would communicate with him by letter, which may be left at 143 Nassau street.

Miss Abby Kelley made some remarks relative to the question of funds for the ensuing year, and to defray the existing debts of the society. She stated that the debts of the society were comparatively trifling, and that a little active exertion on the part of the members would be all that was required. The liberal offer of the Hutchinsons, to travel about the States for the purpose was mentioned, and recommended as worthy of attention.

Mr. Davis stated that the auditing committee had examined the accounts, and found them correct.

Mr. Phillips offered the following resolution which was promptly adopted:

Resolved, That we most strongly urge upon the friends of the cause to forward funds immediately and as liberally as possible, to Francis Jackson, of Boston, the treasurer, that the executive committee may have the means of discharging the debts of the society, of going promptly on in the plans they see best to awaken to new power the anti-slavery feeling of the community, and rouse the indifferent to an interest in the slaves' behalf.

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. Earle and passed:

Resolved, That the liberty party being under the leading influences, and having for its head organ those, who in 1839–40, did what they could to destroy the holy cause of emancipation, and who, from that time to the present, have been unscrupulous in their efforts to annihilate the moral influences which, under God, are the slave's only hope; therefore

Resolved, That we give to that party our unequivocal condemnation, as an enemy to the slave's cause, and here call upon all those who have been caught in its toils, to leave it as they desire the overthrow of slavery, and do not wish to contribute to its continuance.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Earle, and adopted:

Resolved, That the members of the committee in reference to the charges against Mr. Adams, be authorized to make their report, and that the same be published: and that the publication of the report now made be delayed one month, unless the report from the other members be sooner furnished.

On motion the society adjourned, sine die.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 16, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

RIOT AND CIVIL WAR.

In these cases
We still have judgment here; that we but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague the inventor: This even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice
To our own lips.

The regular series of firemen's affrays and general riot, was continued in Philadelphia on Saturday the 4th and Sunday the 5th of May. The Hibernia and Franklin engine companies had a fight between 9 and 10 o'clock on Saturday night, in which two firemen were nearly killed, and borne from the scene. Other combatants were severely cut and bruised with spanners, horns, and brickbats, and several citizens seriously injured by blows of bricks, thrown with fearful violence. During the night a party of one hundred men, came down to attack the Hibernia engine, but were prevented. On Sunday, the Columbia Hose, and Fairmount Engine companies attacked the Neptune and United States Hose companies, and a furious combat with stones, bludgeons, and other deadly weapons, ensued. One or two were supposed to be mortally wounded. But these were the ordinary pastimes of the city of "brotherly love."

On Monday, May 6th, commenced the most awful, and bloody riot that ever occurred in the United States. It is not easy to determine the merits of the immediate cause. The "Native American party" had previously held a meeting in Kensington, (one of the suburbs,) and had been interrupted by an attack from a party of Irishmen. The Native Americans resolved to hold a second meeting in the same place, which took place in the afternoon of Monday. While a member of the party, named Levin was addressing the meeting, an altercation took place between two Irishmen in the crowd, one a Protestant and the other a Catholic. A young man named Babe, interfered to stop the quarrel, and one of the disputants drew a pistol upon him. Babe dared him to fire, and different parties rushed into a combat in which the Hibernia Hose company engaged, and an ex-policeman was shot at, and wound d. A general battle ensued, in which from thirty to a hundred muskets and pistols were fired, killing outright, a young man named Shiffler, and seriously wounding a dozen others. An attempt was made to burn the fence enclosing a Catholic Church and nunnery, but the establishment was defended by Irishmen, and five of the assailants were shot. One named Ramsay was mortally wounded, and a young man named Wright, a spectator of the scene, was killed on the spot. Many others, amounting, according to newspaper reports, to twenty or thirty were wounded, some of them mortally, among the latter were Henry Temple, Samuel Coxe, C. Van Stoveren, and George Young, of the Native Americans, and some Irishmen whose names are not reported. Both parties were by turns so far successful as to compel each other to give ground, but the largest number of killed and wounded were on the side of the Natives. The Irishwomen fought side by side with their husbands. Many houses were broken open, and windows battered, generally in consequence of the combatants who were pursued, taking refuge in or near them. The Irishmen appear to have remained in possession of the field on Monday night, and a large party of them armed with muskets, patrolled during that night in front of one of their churches. A meeting was held by the Natives in the evening, at which a reward of $1,000 was offered for the apprehension of the murderers. The following is another version of the origin of the disturbance of the meeting:

A man standing at the outside of the crowd was heard to say to another standing next to him, (both of whom are represented to us as being Irishmen,) "Now let's make a noise, so that he wont be heard." They forthwith created a noise, and were remonstrated with by some of the bystanders, who requested them to let the proceedings of the meeting go on in peace. They would not cease their clamor, and were finally compelled to do so, in consequence of receiving a severe flogging. This fight caused a little excitement which was raised to an intense degree, in consequence of several shots being fired from the upper windows of the Hibernia hose house, in Cadwalader street, fronting the market house. By this volley several wounds were inflicted, and the Native Americans gathered at the meeting, becoming highly exasperated, and the Irishmen having gathered into a mob, they made an attack upon them.

On the following day, Tuesday, 7th, a meeting of the native party was held in Independence Square, which, after speeches and resolutions pacific enough in *expression*, determined to proceed, three or four thousand strong, to the scene of former strife. The banner of the previous meeting, torn and soiled, was borne through the streets with this inflammatory inscription.

"This is the flag that was trampled by Irish papists."

The procession arrived at the scene, and were proceeding to organize when a shot was fired upon them from the Hibernia hose house, or the adjoining house. A man had joined the procession on the way, carrying a musket. Many of the Natives at the first shot dispersed, but this man levelled his piece at a window in the direction from which the first discharge was made, and it is said shot down a person. He declared he would stand by the stripes and stars. He fired a second time, and was then shot down. Thus, the battle commenced. Other reports say that stones were thrown first at the house by some boys in company with the Americans. The Native party had few arms in the beginning of the fight. They rallied, however, and the contest was maintained with desperate perseverance.

The man who had the musket and was afterward killed, was named Rhinedollar. Shots were now fired from several adjoining houses, and the Native Americans set the house from which the first shot came, on fire. In a short time the Hibernia Hose house and the whole adjoining row in were flames. The fight continued with fury and desperation, until into the night. Some ten persons, chiefly of the Native American party were killed outright, a large number wounded, and thirty houses reduced to ashes. The battle was suspended and quiet restored by the appearance of a brigade of militia on the ground.

Quiet did not continue until morning. The military had retired, leaving only a guard of twenty-four men. A catholic church, under the special protection of this guard, was set on fire, and burnt down. At the falling of the cross, a drum and fife struck up the tune of "Boyne water," commemorative of the battle of the Boyne, and of all the venemous Catholic and Protestant feuds of Ireland! During the remainder of the night, and the following day, May 9th, another Catholic church, a nunnery, and about 60 dwelling houses belonging to, or occupied by Irish families, were burnt. But there was not much fighting, owing to the prompt dispersion of any collection of persons by the military, which had assembled from far and near. The names of the churches burnt were St. Michael's, and St. Augustine. The following is a list of the killed, as far as ascertained:

Wesley Rhinedollar, jr.	—— Johnson, (Irish.)
Lewis Greble,	Joseph Rice, do.
John Shreeves,	W. E. Hilman,
Matthew Hammett,	—— Lee, a youth,
Charles Stivel,	Alexander Ramsay,
George Young,	A boy, name unknown,
R. E. Wright,	George Shiffler.

The Mayor, *Scott*, received a severe blow from a brick during the third day. Governor Porter arrived in the city on the 9th, and issued general orders, calling out all the volunteer companies of the city and county of Philadelphia. On the same day the attorney general gave his opinion, that incendiary and murderous rioters might be lawfully fired upon and killed, as enemies and pirates might. Rather late to be mustering law for the contest!

The county of Philadelphia is liable for all the damage done to private property during the three days. Eight hundred Irish were said to be dispersed half-naked and starving in the woods of the county.

Having thus given the material facts of these deplorable occurrences, we must add one or two brief comments which cannot but approve themselves to every reflecting mind.

In the first place the formation of a political and sectarian party of "Native Americans" was, to say the least, a thoughtless and unpatriotic proceeding. Thinking and impartial persons foresaw just such consequences, as have now ensued. However good the end, the means is detestible, and if countenanced will light up civil war throughout the land.

In the second place the population of the United States, and in a special manner of *Pennsylvania*, have been trained and disciplined to deeds of murder, conflagration and civil war in the universal and licensed mobbing of the abolitionists and free colored people. We recur with no pleasure to this disreputable fact, but we feel it to be an imperative duty to repeat it on every proper occasion. May our countrymen lay it to heart. May our Irish fellow-citizens in particular lay it to heart. Let them now remember that more than once they have beat, killed, burnt out, and driven to the fields and woods their colored fellow-citizens without cause and without pity. We hope it will no longer be without *remorse*.

WASHINGTON INTELLIGENCE.

A kind friend has sent us an interesting letter from Washington, dated the 11th instant. The great length of the proceedings of the anti-slavery meeting, oblizes us to exclude the greater part of it, together with much else prepared for this week. The following is an extract:

Winthrop, and Kennedy, gave an entertainment to Mr. Clay last evening, at their rooms, which I had the pleasure of attending. Mr. Clay stood in the centre of the room, at one time, and to the knot that gathered about him, denounced the "Texas treaty" as "a miserable, swindling affair."

The British tariff bill received its quietus yesterday, in the House, when it was laid on the table by a vote of 105 to 99. The loco-focos writhed, and twisted, to stave off the question of reconsideration, and keep the bill alive long enough to dragoon some of their clansmen into discipline; but all their motions for postponement, and adjournment, were promptly met by the whigs, and the motion to reconsider, the last, forlorn hope of the "democracy," was rejected by a vote of 103 to 99! The loco-focos yielded with a dogged and agonized submission.

You may judge of the feelings of the chivalrous portion of the democracy, by some remarks which fell from Holmes, of South Carolina. He burst out in an invective upon his party, after the House adjourned, which showed the extremest vexation. "It was what might have been expected," he said, (referring to the fate of the bill,) "if the whigs had possessed a majority. We should have felt that everything must, of necessity, go wrong. But we had a right to look for better treatment from our own party. *Really, to be obliged to submit to the disgrace of association with a parcel of blackguards, and gain nothing by the connection, was too bad—he was done with them forever.*"

CAMPBELL'S FOREIGN SEMI-MONTHLY.

The May number of this valuable periodical contains a very beautiful and impressive mezzotint, of the Fall of Babel. Among the variety of interesting articles is a very interesting one, called Dumas in his Curricle. This Dumas is one of the most popular of the French writers, and the son of Bonaparte's mulatto General Dumas.

The number contains, as usual, an agreeable mixture of the poetic and the scientific, the facetious and the pathetic. The articles are the cream taken from The Examiner, The Spectator, Blackwood's Magazine, Frazer's Magazine, Hood's Magazine, Tait's Magazine, Edinburgh Journal, Athenæum, &c. &c.

THE MOTHER'S BOOK.

This little work on education, by L. Maria Child, went through five editions in a short time after its publication. It has now been out of the market for several years, and the wish for a new edition has of late been frequently expressed. Charles S. Francis, 252 Broadway, has lately published a sixth edition, in very neat style, with corrections and additions by the author. Those offices that wish to sell on commission, will have the goodness to apply to him. The book is written with great simplicity and directness, and is well adapted to popular use.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.—We cannot permit the report of the debates to go forth without saying that the speeches are very imperfectly reported.

Died.

"Death culls the fairest flowers."

Died, in this city, April 15th, LOUISA V. eldest daughter of Mr. George Putnam, aged 16.

This dispensation of Providence has carried affliction to the hearts of a large circle of friends, to whom the deceased was endeared by those amiable traits of character which so conspicuously adorned her brief existence on earth.

"None knew her but to love her,
Nor named her but to praise."

During her protracted illness, which she bore with signal patience and resignation, many an evidence was given to her parents and friends who watched at the bedside, that Death had no terrors for her—that she was but anticipating a happier home. A few moments before her death, being under the influence of symptoms till then unknown to her, she says to her mother, "Is this death?" and in reply to a question of her father, in reference to her hope beyond, "Yes!" she said, "it is all morning now," and her spirit winged its flight from earth to Heaven.

A large concourse of friends united with the bereaved parents, brothers, and sisters, in shedding the sympathetic tear around her tomb.

"Our little life, how short it is: let us be useful to each other, and it will be immortal even upon earth."—*Liberator.*

At Tisbury, Mass. on the 7th of March, ELIZA W. wife of Thomas Grant, aged 29.

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 5th mo. (May) 11th, 1844.

Received for the Standard—The following persons have each paid $2: E. D. Draper, Milford, Mass.; Moses Joy, Nantucket; Mathias Hutchinson, Kings Ferry, N. Y.; James Townsend, Knox, O.; Jeremia Woodford, Bloomfield; E. A. Chadwick, Exeter, N. H.; Luke Vandake, Rochester, N. Y.—Total, $14.

Pantucket (R. I.) Anti-Slavery Society, $40; Geo. Everett, Macedon, N. Y. $2.25; S. Barnes, Farmington, N.Y. $3; Thomas Slocum, Plinton, N. Y. $5.—Total, $50.25.

Donations.—Lucia Marriott, Claveraek, N. Y. $5; Maria Marriott, do. $5; Margaret M. Hyatt, do. $5; Charles Marriott Hyatt, do. $1; Nantucket Ladies Anti-Slavery Fair, $50; David Joy, Nantucket, $25; Nathaniel Barney, do. $25; Buel Pickel, Sherman, Ct. on account of pledge, $5.—Total, $121.

Donations for Committee of Vigilance.

Lucia Marriott, 2; Maria Marriott, $2; Margaret M. Hyatt, $2; Charles Marriott Hyatt, $1.—Total, $7.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer.*

NOTICES.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston, at the Marlboro' chapel, on TUESDAY, May 28th, at 10 o'clock, a. m.; and will continue three or four days. The abolitionists of New England, and of the United States, are earnestly invited to attend this most important and interesting gathering. The Hutchinson family will be present, and many eloquent advocates of the slave's cause are confidently expected from various parts of the country. Let there be a general rally of those who are resolved upon a vigorous campaign for the coming year. FRANCIS JACKSON,
Pres't. Mass. A. S. Society.

EDMUND QUINCY, Secretary.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

Abolitionists of Rhode Island—Dear Friends:—

The members of the Providence Ladies Anti-Slavery Society feeling that the times demand on their part, and on the part of abolitionists generally, more energetic and decisive action, have determined to hold a FAIR in this city, on the first Wednesday (Commencement day) of September, 1844.

As to the design of this Fair, little need be said to incite exertion on your part. Three millions of American citizens are in slavery: we wish to aid in their speedy and unconditional emancipation. What effort can be more praiseworthy in its purpose? What object more glorious in its accomplishment? It is an effort in behalf of Freedom. The time has been when the mention of a design like this would thrill, as with electic speed and power, the hearts of our little commonwealth. Reputation, property, and life, would all be spontaneously and freely offered upon the altar of liberty. In the dark and stormy days of religious persecution, Rhode Island was freedom's eyrie. In the still darker and stormier days of the revolution, our men and women counted toil and deprivation, joyful. Shall it be, that now, when a religious intolerance and persecution, more bigoted and cruel—when a tyranny more fearful and degrading than it has ever before been the world's lot to witness, pollutes our soil, that a call for help shall not meet with a hearty and cheering response? Surely not. There is among you, dear friends, a heart-engendered philanthropy that will not suffer it.

Our countrymen are degraded, oppressed, murdered; the blasting and withering influences of slavery are paralyzing the nerves of our national prosperity and power; draining the well-springs of humanity, and choking with insurmountable barriers, the channels of free thought and utterance. On this behalf we call upon you for help. Let it come, in any and every shape. Your purses, your farms, your workshops, your factories, and your stores, we expect will be laid under liberal contribution. Things to eat and things to drink—things to be seen and things to be worn—things useful and things fanciful—let them all come, in overwhelming abundance. Nothing can be too numerous, too great, or too small.

We ask each one of you to do something. Form at once, sewing circles and knitting societies—organize and send forth efficient soliciting committees. Let no person remain idle or unsolicited—no corner of the State unsearched, for aid. All this do, for the slave's sake. The foes of freedom are mustering strong, even now, and the battle waxes hot. Come each one, and all, bear a hand.

☞ Articles designed for the Fair may be sent to the Anti-Slavery office, No. 2, Broad street—care of Amarancy Paine. Any information that may be desired, will be readily given by Miss Paine, on addressing her by mail, or otherwise.

Susan R. Morris,	*Abby Thurber,*
Sarah B. P. Foster,	*Olive Taber,*
Hannah B. Shove,	*Nancy H. Shove,*
Abby Burgess,	*Mary Hathaway,*
*Lucret

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE ELFIN MAIDS.

Races three of Elfin maids.
Wander through this peopled earth:
One to guard the hours of love,
One to haunt the homely hearth,
One to cheer the festal board.
EDDA, [*Lay of Vafthrudni.*]

'Tis now many years ago,
Since, my own dear bride,
We as youthful lovers sat,
Often side by side.

Thy small hand was clasped in mine,
And thy head did lay
On my shoulder, as we sat
At the close of day.

Gentle vows of truth and love
How we murmured oft;
Vows of faith and constancy,
Uttered low and soft.

Then we blessed the Elfin maid
Whose soft wing we felt
Sweeping o'er our brows, when we
In adoration knelt.

Years past; and I, a manly sire,
With children on my knee,
Sat by my own warm cottage-fire,
Contented, proud, and free.

And thou, a modest, loving wife,
Wast happy in our cot,
We cared not for the world's poor strife,
But blest our happy lot.

And as at eve we fervent prayed
Our good might ever last,
We saw another Elfin maid
On shadowy wing glide past.

And then we thanked our God in Heaven,
That He to us on earth,
Such beings pure and good had given,
To haunt our homely hearth.

And now around our festal board—
Wife, children, friends and all—
I envy not the miser's hoard,
Or monarch's gilded hall.

My heart with adoration swells,
To Him my knee is bent,
Each happy face around me tells
A tale of sweet content.

And look! that gentle form behold!
With meekly folded hands,
And dazzling wings of purest gold,
A being holy stands!

Bear up, oh, Elfin maid! my prayer
Of thankfulness and praise,
To Him, my God in every care,
The ancient One of Days.

CAMBRIDGE. C. G. F.

From the Norristown Herald and Free Press.

To C. J. M.

"I will sing of Mercy and Judgment."—PSALMS. 101. i.

We met, dear cousin, long ago,
In days of early hope and joy,
I was a young and happy girl,
Thou wast a younger, happier boy.
A few unclouded summer days,
In childhood's careless sports passed by,
Then turned we to our separate paths;—
But round our hearts a stronger tie
Than that by kindness formed was twined;
And after, (though we seldom met,)
We met with warmer feeling still,
And parted with more deep regret.

Once, in thy happy home, I found
A gentle one, before unknown,
Whom in brief space I learned to love,
First, for *thy* sake, then for *her own*.
What pleasures blessed our distant homes!
The purest "wedded love" was thine,
Parents, whom time had gently touched,
And one dear sister, forming mine;
Oh, 'twas no common feeling bound
That precious sister to my heart!
Such ties, (too seldom formed on earth,)
Nought earthly e'er can rend apart.

* * * * *

My cousin! we have met again,
With stricken heart and saddened brow;
The brightest scenes on "memory's page,"
Are bathed with tears of anguish now.
That sister, who, to bless my lot,
With all I asked or hoped, seemed given,
My friend, companion, counsellor,—
And thy beloved one—*are in Heaven!*
Neither can tell, though each can feel,
How desolate is either heart,
How sad the path, from which we've seen
Such pure, unwavering light depart.

Oh, words are vain!—but it is sweet
To meet, (what is too seldom met,)
The answering tear of sympathy—
My cousin! there is left us yet.
The soothing thought, that He who lent,
In "mercy" lent them to us—ne'er
In "judgment" errs—that 'twas His will
To take them to himself—and there,
Let us forget not, (howe'er deep
Our cup of bitterness may be,)
That perfect blessedness is theirs,
And will be theirs eternally.

11th mo. 1843. SUSAN WILSON.

A THOUGHT OVER A CRADLE.

BY N. P. WILLIS.

I sadden when thou smilest to my smile,
Child of my love! I tremble to believe
That o'er the mirror of that eye of blue
The shadow of my heart will always pass;—
A heart that, from its struggle with the world,
Comes nightly to thy guarded cradle home,
And, careless of the staining dust it brings,
Asks for its idol! Strange, that flowers of earth
Are visited by every air that stirs,
And drink in sweetness only, while the child
That shuts within its breast a bloom for heaven,
May take a blemish from the breath of love,
And bear the blight forever.

I have wept
With gladness at the gift of this fair child!
My life is bound up in her! But, oh God!
Thou know'st how heavily my heart at times
Bears its sweet burden; and if Thou hast given
To nurture such as mine this spotless flower,
To bring it unpolluted unto Thee,
Take Thou its love, I pray thee! Give it light—
Though, following the sun, it turn from me!
But, by the chord thus wrung, and by the light
Shining about her, draw me to my child,
And link us close, oh God, when near to heaven!

Miscellany.

THE LOST CHILDREN.

BY L. H. SIGOURNEY.

There was sickness in the dwelling of the emigrant. Stretched upon his humble bed, he depended on that nursing care which a wife, scarcely less enfeebled than himself, was able to bestow. A child, in its third summer, had been recently laid to its last rest, beneath a turf mound under their window. Its image was in the heart of the mother, as she tenderly ministered to her husband.

"Wife, I am afraid I think too much about poor little Thomas. He was so well, and rosy, when we left our old home, scarcely a year since. Sometimes I feel if we had continued there, our darling would not have died."

The tear which had long trembled, and been repressed, burst forth at these words. It freely overflowed the brimming eyes, and relieved the suffocating emotions which had striven for the mastery.

"Do not reproach yourself, dear husband. His time had come. He is happier there than here. Let us be thankful for those that are spared."

"It seems to me that the little girls are growing pale. I am afraid you confine them too closely to this narrow house, and to the sight of sickness. The weather is growing settled. You had better send them out to change the air, and run about at their will. Mary, lay the baby on the bed by me, and ask mother to let little sister and you go out for a ramble."

The mother assented, and the children, who were four and six years old, departed full of delight. A clearing had been made in front of their habitation, and by ascending a knoll in its vicinity, another dwelling might be seen, environed with the dark spruce and hemlock. In the rear of these houses was a wide expanse of ground, interspersed with thickets, rocky acclivities, and patches of forest trees, while far away, one or two lakelets peered up, with their blue eyes deeply fringed. The spirits of the children, as they entered this unenclosed region, were like those of the birds that surrounded them. They playfully pursued each other with merry laughter, and such a joyous sense of liberty as makes the blood course lightsomely through the veins.

"Little Jane, let us go further than ever we have before. We will see what lies beyond those high hills, for it is but just past noon, and we can get back long before supper-time.

"O, yes, let us follow that bright blue bird, and see what he is flying after. But don't go in among those briars that tear the clothes so, for mother has no time to mend them."

"Sister, sweet sister, here are some snow-drops in this green hollow, exactly like those in my old, dear garden, so far away. How pure they are, and cool, just like the baby's face when the wind blows on it! Father and mother will like us to bring them some."

Filling their little aprons with the spoil, and still searching for something new, or beautiful, they prolonged their ramble, unconscious of the flight of time, or extent of space they were traversing. At length admonished by the chillness, which often marks the declining hours of the early days of spring, they turned their course homeward. But the returning clue was lost, and they walked rapidly, only to plunge more inextricably into the mazes of the wilderness.

"Sister Mary, are these pretty snow-drops good to eat? I am *so* hungry, and my feet ache, and will not go."

"Let me lift you over this brook, little Jane, and hold tighter by my hand, and, walk as brave as you can, that we may get home, and help mother set the table."

"We won't go so far the next time, will we? What is the reason that I cannot see any better."

"Is not that the roof of our house, dear Jane, the thin smoke curling up among the trees? Many times before have I thought so, and found it only a rock or a mist."

As evening drew its veil, the hapless wanderers, bewildered, hurried to and fro, calling for their parents, or shouting for help, until their strength was exhausted. Torn by brambles, and their poor feet bleeding from the rocks that strewed their path, they sunk down, moaning bitterly. The tears that overpower the heart of a timid child, who for the first time finds night approaching without shelter or protection, wrought on the youngest to insupportable anguish. The elder, filled with sacred warmth of sisterly affection, after the first paroxysms of grief, seemed to forget herself, and sitting upon the damp ground, and folding the little one in her arms, rocked her with a gentle movement, soothing and hushing her like a nursling.

"Don't cry; O, don't cry so, dearest; say your prayers, and fear will fly away."

"How can I kneel down here in the dark woods, or say my prayers, when mother is not by to hear me? I think I see a large wolf, with sharp ears, and a mouth wide open, and hear noises, as of many fierce lions growling."

"Dear little Jane, do say, 'Our father who art in heaven.' Be a good girl, and when we have rested here awhile, perhaps he may be pleased to send some one to find us, and to fetch us home."

Harrowing was the anxiety in the lowly hut of the emigrant, when day drew towards its close, and the children came not. A boy, their sole assistant in the toils of agriculture, on his return from labor, was sent in search of them, but in vain. As evening drew on, the inmates of the neighboring house, and those of a small hamlet at a considerable distance, were alarmed, and associated in the pursuit. The agony of the invalid parents, through that night, was uncontrollable; starting at every footstep, shaping out of every breeze the accents of the lost ones returning, or their cries of misery. While the morning was yet gray, the father, no longer to be restrained, and armed with supernatural strength, went forth, amid the ravings of his fever, to take part in the pursuit. With fiery cheeks, his throbbing head bound with a handkerchief, he was seen in the most dangerous and inaccessible spots—caverns, ravines, beetling cliffs—leading the way to every point of peril, in the frenzy of grief and distress.

The second night drew on, with one of those sudden sleet and snow-storms which sometimes chill the hopes of the young spring. Then was seen a sad sight: a woman with attenuated form, flying she knew not whither, and continually exclaiming, "My children! my children!" It was fearful to see a creature so deadly pale. She heeded no advice to take care of herself, no persuasion to return to her home.

"They call me! Let me go! I will lay them in their bed myself. How cold their feet are! What! is Jane singing her nightly hymn without me? No, no, she cries; some evil serpent has stung her!" and shrieking wildly, the poor mother disappeared, like a hunted deer, in the depths of the forest.

Oh! might she but have wrapped them in her arms, as they shivered in their dismal recess, under the roots of a tree, upturn by some wintry tempest! Yet how could she imagine the spot where they lay, or believe that those little wearied limbs had borne them through bog and bramble, more than six miles from the parental door? In the niche which we have mentioned, a faint moaning sound might still be heard.

"Sister, do not tell me that we shall never see the baby any more. I see it now, and Thomas, too, dear Thomas! Why do they say he died, and was buried? He is close by me, just above my head. There are many more babies with him—a host. They glide by me as if they had wings. They look warm and happy. I should be glad to be with them, and join their beautiful plays. But O, how cold I am! Cover me closer, Mary. Take my head into your bosom."

"Pray do not go to sleep quite yet, dear little Jane. I want to hear your voice, and to talk with you. It is so very sad to be walking here all alone. If I could but see your face when you are asleep, it would be a comfort. But it is so dark, *so dark.*"

Rousing herself with difficulty, she unties her apron, and spreads it over the head of the child, to protect it from the driving snow; she pillows the cheek on her breast, and grasps more firmly the benumbed hand, by which she had so faithfully led her, through all their terrible pilgrimage. There they are! One moves not. The other keeps vigil, feebly giving utterance, at intervals, to a low, suffocating spasm, from a throat dried with hunger. Once more she leans upon her elbow to look on the face of the little one, for whom as a mother she cared. With love strong as death, she comforts herself that her sister slumbers calmly, because the stroke of the destroyer has silenced her sobbings.

Ah! why came ye not hither, torches that gleam through the wilderness, and men who shout to each other? why came ye not this way! See! how they plunge into morasses, they cut their path through tangled thickets, they ford waters, they ascend mountains, they explore forests—but the lost are not found.

The third and fourth nights come, and depart. Still the woods are filled with eager searchers. Sympathy has gathered them from remote settlements. Every log cabin sends forth what it can spare for this work of pity and of sorrow. They cross each other's track. Incessantly they interrogate and reply. But in vain. The lost are not found.

In her mournful dwelling, the mother sat motionless. Her infant was upon her lap. The strong duty to succor its helplessness, grappled with the might of grief, and prevailed. Her eyes were riveted upon its brow. No sound passed her white lips. Pitying women, from distant habitations, gathered around and wept for her. They even essayed some words of consolation. But she answered nothing. She looked not toward them. She had no ear for human voices. In her soul was the perpetual cry of the lost.

Nothing overpowered it but the wail of the living babe. She ministered to its necessities, and the heaven-inspired impulse saved her. She had no longer any hope for those who had wandered away. Horrid images were in her fancy—the ravening beasts—black pits of stagnant water—birds of fierce beak—venomous, coiling snakes. She bowed herself down to them, and travailed as in the birth hour, fearfully and in silence. But the helpless babe on her bosom touched an electric chord and saved her from despair. Maternal love, with its pillar of cloud and of flame, guided her through the desert that she perished not

Sunday came, and the search was unabated. It seemed only marked by a deeper tinge of melancholy. The most serious felt it fitting to go forth at that sacred season, to seek the lost; though not like their Master girded with the power to save. Parents remembered that it might have been their own little ones, who had thus strayed from the fold, and with their gratitude, took something of the mourner's spirit into their hearts. Even the sad hope of gathering the dead for the sepulchre, the sole hope that now sustained their toil, began to fade into doubt. As they climbed over huge trees, which the winds of winter had prostrated, or forced their way among rending brambles, sharp rocks, and close woven branches, they marvelled how such fragile forms could have endured hardships by which the vigor of manhood was impeded and perplexed.

The echo of a gun rang suddenly through the forest. It was repeated. Hill to hill bore the thrilling message. It was the concerted signal that their anxieties were ended. The hurrying seeker followed its sound. From a commanding cliff, a white flag was seen to float. It was a herald that the lost were found.

There they were, near the base of a wooded hillock, half cradled among the roots of an upturn chestnut. There they lay, cheek to cheek, hand clasped in hand. The blasts had mingled in one mesh their disheveled locks, for they had left home with their poor heads uncovered. The youngest had passed away in sleep. There was no contortion on her brow, though her features were sunk and sharpened by famine.

The elder had borne a deeper and longer anguish. Her eyes were open, as though she had watched till death came; watching over that little one, through those days and nights of terror, she had cared and sorrowed like a mother. Strong and rugged men shed tears, when they saw she had wrapped her in her own scanty apron, and striven with her embracing arms to preserve the warmth of vitality, even after the cherished spirit had fled away. The glazed eyeballs were strained, as if to the last they had been gazing for her father's roof, or the wreath of smoke that should guide her there.

Sweet sisterly love! so patient in all adversity, so faithful unto the end, found it not a father's house, where it might enter with the little one, and be sundered no more? Found it not a fold, whence no lamb can wander and be lost? a mansion where there is no death, neither sorrow nor crying?

From the Emancipator.

PEACE PRINCIPLES IN ENGLAND.

Here is a subject on which neither of our correspondents have touched; and perhaps the subject may not take their attention as it has our own; and yet it is one that more concerns the people of this country, so far as our own interests are involved, than any other, and we therefore take the opportunity to offer a few thoughts, to go out by the steamer. The following paragraph is from a London paper:

"*Parliament, March* 11.—Mr. Hindley presented forty petitions from the peace societies in several towns in England, Ireland, and Scotland, against any increase in the war establishment of the country."

We have seen the form of the petitions. The substance is, that the petitioners believe that "war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind," and that "large military establishments are an evil on all accounts, and repugnant to the spirit of the British constitution." They therefore pray "that there may be no increase whatever to the existing military establishments of the empire," and that parliament will immediately adopt "such measures as are most suitable and effective for removing the fearful temptations to war, which such establishments present."

Without having been at all forewarned or led to anticipate such a thing, personal observation showed us a feature of peculiar interest in the present state of public opinion in England, not so definitely marked in our own and not seen in any other country. It was this—that the "struggling masses" are imbued with a deep abhorrence of WAR. Everywhere, in all societies, or organizations aiming at the intellectual, moral, social, or political improvement of "the millions," we found "peace principles" at home, as a common friend of them all. The anti-slavery society, the Sunday school union, the home mission boards, the anti-corn law league, the suffrage union, the temperance societies—all give the fraternal embrace to the cause of peace—peace with all the world, but especially, and at *any rate*, (save that of absolute invasion,) PEACE WITH AMERICA.

One cause of this is doubtless to be found in the intolerable burdens under which *the people* now groan, in consequence of war. In some respects, the British nation, which has not seen the face of a foreign foe for centuries, suffers more severely from war, than even those countries which have been the play-ground of the war fiends in every general conflict. Those countries that are ravaged by armies incur no debts, because they have no credit.

On the contrary, while England is exempted from actual invasion, a state of war imparts a spring to business, and produces such an excitement of the public mind, that the people acquiesce in a course of policy leading to unlimited expense, and creating a debt to be paid at a future day and by future generations. This debt is now to be paid, and the burdens and taxes are to be borne by the people, after the excitement of war is all withdrawn, and in a generation, the greater part of whom have no knowledge of what the money was spent for, except their sense of its burdens.

The aristocracy, on the contrary, are essentially disposed to war. War multiplies offices, appointments, and government services and jobs, on which the aristocracy mainly depend. War consolidates the aristocracy, strengthens the government, occupies the public mind, and prevents the people from dwelling on their own grievances. The people are becoming sensible of this; and they feel that they not only have to pay all the expense of war, for the aggrandizement of the aristocracy, but that they are actually made to pay for making their own chains stronger. There is, probably, now, no one feeling so deep in the mind of the multitude, as the determination to pay for no more wars, no more Blenheims, no more Waterloos, no more statues.

Looking at the operation of war in England, and seeing for whose benefit the war is carried on, and at whose expense, we seem to get the clue to unravel some mysteries with respect to our own country. WARS ARE JOBS for the benefit of a select few, at the expense of the great mass. In this country the jobbers are the political loafers and the slaveholders. Watch them.

We may see, also, how the American slaveholders and the English aristocracy, while standing upon the same ground, and sympathizing in the same principles and movements, can yet pursue courses of policy calculated to produce a war between the two countries. Aside from some specific sources of danger, in its general influence, war would benefit them both, while it would cause immeasurable ills to the fighting, paying, enduring masses of people in both countries.

Hence we are impressed, also, with the diabolism of that policy of the politicians of both countries and of all parties, which has labored so effectually to prevent that mutual acquaintance and sympathy which ought to subsist, and which a perfect identity of interest, if left to its own operation, could not but create, between the people of these two countries.

The policy of the government of Great Britain is always warlike, expensive, aggressive, grasping, insatiable. The policy of the people is now pacific, economical, restrictive. And of these two antagonisms, the house of David is continually waxing stronger, and the house of Saul weaker. In many parts of the kingdom where the government used to recruit its regiments, we found such a feeling abroad that they could not enlist a soldier. And the people threaten a general pledge of non-consumption of taxed articles, if any new burdens are attempted to be laid upon them for the support of war.

There is one circumstance that ought to be allowed for, in comparing the feelings of our people towards England with theirs towards us. The remembrance of the wrongs that led to the declaration of independence. Our fathers in that day, once appealed to the people of England. Perhaps we do not make sufficient allowance for the difficulty which the people had, and still have, in making their wishes influential with the government. At any rate, the failure of that appeal, and the continued endurance of the government by the people, have led us to regard them as identical, and to ascribe to the people those designs and propensities which we cannot but see characterize the government.

A consequence has been, that jealousy of the designs of England is one of the most easily excitable sensibilities of the public mind for demagogues to play upon, and one which is always resorted to by those who have objects which they dare not trust to the cool and enlightened judgment of the people. The existence of this jealousy is more easily explained than defended. At any rate, it has no counterpart in the feelings towards this country which exist among the "struggling masses" of England. This was a discovery to us, but careful investigation left no room to doubt that such is the fact.

We cannot extend these remarks. They are well considered, and are worthy the attention of statesmen, as well as of philanthropists. This feeling in the mass of the people already controls the British government. Hence, those statesmen and editors, from Senator Benton to the editor of the Bay State Democrat, who take as the basis of their reasoning, the assumption that the old aristocracy, who still keep in hand the forms of the British government, are the British nation, or direct the policy of Great Britain, belong to an affete class of politicians, and will soon find themselves behind the age. The Bay State Democrat of last evening, in an elaborate article in defense of Tyler and Texas, has this paragraph:—

"It is not slavery at which Great Britain would strike a blow in Texas, but at the United States. To the peace and welfare of this country, its growth, prosperity, and power, she is inimical; and to undermine these is the whole scope of her policy. It was for this she nominally abolished slavery in her West India possessions; it is for this she seeks to effect the abolition of slavery in Texas. Through that country she would reach this, and by acquiring a foothold and influence there, multiply the means of annoying and molesting the United States."

On the contrary, the British government abolished its own slavery, and seeks its abolition in Texas, because the voice of the people demanded it, and they dared not disobey. The same voice of the people commands justice, and comity, and peace, towards the United States, and its decree is equally decisive in this behalf. There can be no war between the two countries, unless it is brought about by the rascality of the slaveholders, and loafing politicians of America.

The last remark we will now make is, that every class of these "struggling masses" look to the United States as a natural ally in their struggles against oppression. Hence they all desire the prosperity of the United States, as identical with the triumph of their own cherished principles. Hence they all lament the existence of slavery in the United States, *because it weakens the force of our example in the cause of liberty and justice.* Hence, too, the best labors in behalf of all our *just* pretensions and aims as a nation, are those which strengthen the cause of reform in Great Britain. And hence, finally, the proper test of true republicanism in this country, is the manifestation of a warm sympathy with the growing spirit of republicanism in our father land.

It is an object worth living for, to have the privilege of doing even a little in behalf of so glorious a cause.

HAVANA.

Advices from Havana to the 14th April were received in New Orleans on the 19th.

Things are in a deplorable state; there is little or nothing doing, owing to a general want of confidence which reigns throughout, occasioned by the late general insurrection on the sugar estates near Matanzas, Cardenas, and all the Vuelta Arriba. You may judge how these estates are at the present day, when I assure you that on a plantation which, until lately, was worked by 600 negroes, there are now only five. Several stores in Matanzas have been rented in order to place the rebels in them, as the jail was not large enough to contain them all. This rebellion was first set on foot three years ago, according to the confession of the culprits, and has daily been extending itself, fomented principally by the free and most influential mulattoes of this place. There were ordered to be shot on the 20th twenty-five negroes, four English mechanics, and a mulatto poet, said to be very clever. He was to have been a leader in case of an insurrection. He was found to be in correspondence with the blacks of St. Domingo, and had success crowned their efforts, he was to be known as "Emperador Placido Primero." Arrests were made daily in Havana. Private houses were turned into prisons, the public jails being full. Of those arrested and soon to be shot, some of our readers may know Blakely, a dentist of great repute, and son of an Englishman; Barbosa, the undertaker, worth about $200,000; Ranget, the silversmith, also very rich; the clarionet player, Bernardino, and several others. Our govenor, O'Donnell, has taken the matter up with uncommon spirit, and is determined to eradicate every symptom of disaffection. It is said that he will very materially diminish the number of those engaged in labor on the island, but he will thereby give greater security to life and property. He is prompt to put down any symptom of rebellion.

A PLEA FOR THE BIRDS.

As the season is at hand when the birds begin their labors in our fields and gardens, it becomes their friends to interpose for their protection from the wanton persecution which pursues them as regularly as they make their appearance. No fact in natural history is more certain than their really useful services—though we are not prepared to admit this to be their only or their highest claim to our regard. It has been ascertained by various and careful experiments that they protect our choicest fruits from the ravages of the insect tribes. That they are sometimes mischievous in the autumn is not denied, but the little harm they do in the fullness of the year is more than compensated by the destructive havoc they make among the insects and vermin of the spring. The quantity of grubs destroyed by crows, and of caterpillars, and their grubs, by the various small birds, is immense. Other tribes of birds, which feed on the wing, as swallows, martins, &c. destroy millions of winged insects, which would otherwise infest the air, and become insupportably troublesome. Even the titmouse and bullfinch, usually supposed to be so mischievous in gardens, have actually been proved only to destroy buds which contain a destructive insect. Ornithologists have of late determined these facts.

An English paper tells us that some of the large farmers in Devonshire, under a strong prejudice, determined a few summers ago, to try the result of offering a great reward for the heads of crows; but the issue proved destructive to the farms, for nearly the whole of the crops failed for three succeeding years, and they have since been forced to import birds to re-stock their farms. We add a few other facts collected from experience:

"Every crow requires at least one pound of food a week, and nine-tenths of their food consists of worms and insects; one hundred crows, then, in one season, destroy four thousand seven hundred and eighty pounds of worms, insects, and larvæ; from this fact, some slight idea may be formed of the benefit of this much persecuted bird of the farmer." *Magazine of Natural History.*

The Blackbird destroys a great number of Grubs, &c.—"Last August, I observed eight or ten blackbirds busily engaged in the grass plat in front of my house, and the grass where they were seemed dying, as was hinted, from their mischievous operations—and the gun was suggested as the remedy. Suspecting the object of the birds' search, I turned up a piece of turf with the spade, and found it literally swarming with grubs of various sizes. I need not say that they were allowed to pursue their game undisturbed, and that the grass plat soon regained its verdure. This is another instance of the utility of preserving birds on farms, and in orchards and gardens."—*Ib.*

* * "At the season, to repay the gardener for the tithe of his crop, their natural due, they fail not to assist in ridding his trees of more deadly enemies which infest them, and the small caterpillars, beetles, and various insects, now constitute their only food; and for hours at a time they may be seen feeding on the all despoiling canker worm which infests our apple trees and elms."—*Nuttal's Ornithology.*

"The boblincoln is perhaps next to the cedar bird or Canada robin, the greatest destroyer of the canker worm. Building her nest and rearing her young under the apple trees, as this bird often does, she requires an immense number of worms for their subsistence just at the time that they are most destructive. 'I have observed one of these birds,' says a neighbor, 'go round the limb of an apple tree in a spiral direction, and destroy in this way every worm on the tree, in an incredible short time. No man,' added he, 'can calculate the value of birds on a farm. I have no doubt but that they save me equal to the labor of one man for the season, beside preserving my trees from destruction."

Birds, then, not excepting the hawks and owls, are vastly more useful than injurious to man. None of them should, under any pretense, be destroyed.—*Newark Advertiser.*

DUELLING.

Two musquetoes, one morning, met on a leaf in a garden. Both were filled with the blood drawn during their last nocturnal depredations. They were silent, and "dumpy," cross, and savage. One of them ran out his sting, and pointed towards the first musquetoe. This was considered an insult. And so the offended musquetoe steps up to the other and says:

"Did you turn up your sting to me?"

The answer was—"I ran out my sting; you can apply it as you choose."

"Sir," says the first, "you are impertinent."

Answer—"Sir, your remark savors of rascality."

"Hah!" exclaimed the other; "a downright insult! No gentlemanly musquetoe will submit to such treatment without demanding satisfaction! Draw, villain, and defend yourself!" They rushed together, and, running one another through the body, died "honorable" deaths.

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Recipe for making Yeast.—To two middling sized boiled potatoes, add a pint of boiling water, and two table-spoonfuls of brown sugar. One pint of hot water should be applied to every half pint of the compound. Hot water is better in warm weather. This yeast, being made without flour, will keep longer, and is said to be much better than any previously in use.

Save your Soapsuds.—There is scarcely a plant that is not benefited by watering with soapsuds. It furnishes nutritive matter as well as moisture—keeps off insects, and promotes a rapid growth. The Gardner's Chronicle states, that while there has been a great failure in the cabbage and cauliflower gardens generally, those watered with soapsuds have produced plants of the finest quality, and entirely escaped the injuries inflicted by insects upon others.

New Method of grafting Apple Trees.—Plant the seeds in rows at a suitable distance from each other, and the hills, say about five feet apart in each row. But one tree should be suffered to grow in a place. Now when the young tree is sufficiently grown in the spring of the second or third year, any quantity of fruit may be grafted into it in the following manner: First, bend the tree over and obtain for it a firm resting place, either on a block, or a board resting on the knee, (after it has been divested of its branches,) and with a stout, sharp-pointed knife, pierce holes directly through the centre of the tree, about five inches apart, into which the scions are to be introduced—leaving above, two or three buds. A trench is then dug, in a direct line between the trees, about four inches deep, and the whole tree bent down and buried, leaving the tops of the scions above ground. In this new condition, the scions become uniformly thrifty young trees, supported and nourished from the buried tree, from which issue in due time, roots from its entire length. The second year from this operation, the whole parent tree may be dug up, the new growth sawed apart, and transplanted. It will thus be seen, that if the tree is five feet in height, ten or twelve young trees, of whatever quality is chosen, may be obtained in this way, whereas, by the ordinary method of grafting, there could be but one, provided the graft lived. The young scion will bear fruit, thus transplanted, in the same time it would, had it been grafted into a tree fifteen years old.

Planting Potatoes.—In the potato there are two parts, one of which will produce *tubers* fit for the table eight or ten days earlier than the other part. The small end of the potato is that which produces the earliest kind, and is full of eyes. The middle, or body of the potato produces later, and always large ones. The butt, or navel end is worthless, except for feeding stock, and if planted, produces very indifferent small ones, and often none at all. Cut your potatoes sometime before you plant them, and always select for seed the largest and fairest that you can find. You may very much improve your table potatoes in this way.

Wash for Fruit Trees.—Make a composition of potash, fresh cow manure, saltpetre, clay and ashes. Make it of a sufficient consistency to be put on with a brush. This wash, while it will give health and vigor to the trees, will be found hostile to insects. This should succeed digging about them, and manuring them with a good compost impregnated with salt and saltpetre.

To Destroy Thistles, Fern, and Coltsfoot.—Having once a pasture-field that seemed one entire bed of common thistles, and having occasion to carry manure across it to another field, I observed all the thistles completely killed wherever the carts went; I therefore set to, and rolled the whole field with a cast-iron roller, once in the latter end of May, and twice in the beginning of June. The field has been free from thistles ever since. Fern, and coltsfoot, I have exterminated in the same way.—*London Horticultural Register, for* 1831.

Roses.—Onions planted near a rosebush, so as to touch its root, increase the odor of the flowers.

Miscellaneous Items.

Roman Antiquities in Africa.—A bust of Parian marble, in good preservation, and of excellent execution, as it is said, has recently been dug up at Cherchell, in Africa, supposed to be that of Ptolemy, son of the 2d Juba, and the last king of Mauritania Tingitana, which is valuable as being unique. Cherchell is the ancient Cæsarea, the capital of that kingdom. The bust is the portrait of a man in the freshness of youth, with the royal fillet on his brow, and has a striking resemblance to the likeness on the coins of the Ptolemy in question. It is destined for the Royal Museum.—*Boston Transcript.*

Ravages of Small Pox.—Fatal Deception.—We learn from the Memphis (Tennessee) Eagle, that the people of De Soto county, Mississippi, are dreadfully afflicted with the small pox, with which they have been *inoculated* by a steam doctor. An individual very improperly *quizzed* the latter by telling him that the only way to obtain vaccine matter was to take the *small pox virus* and mix it with new milk. The steamer did so, and with the most lamentable results. Several persons have died of the disease. A travelling preacher obtained some of the same material, and *inoculated* twenty or thirty persons. The result has been dreadful in the extreme. The whole country is in the most painful alarm and consternation. And all to gratify some contemptible fellow's desire to quiz!

Death of the King of Sweden.—His majesty Charles John has ceased to live. He died on the 5th ult. at four o'clock in the morning. His son and heir assumed forthwith the royal authority, under the style of Oscar the Second; and announced his intention of continuing the government of Sweden and Norway, in the footsteps of his late father. The deceased, once Marshal Bernadotte, the only one of the sovereigns created by Napoleon who survived the crash of the imperial dynasty, was the son of a French innkeeper. He was in his eighty-first year. The present king of Sweden is aged forty-four years and six months.

By the death of the king of Sweden, Marshal Soult has become the sole survivor of all the eighteen marshals of the empire created by Napoleon, in 1804, at the camp of Boulogne.

Strange effects of Cold.—It is said that iron is so much changed in its properties by the cold in the high latitudes where explorations have been made in the artic and antartic regions, that it may be cut with a hard stone, with as little difficulty as we, in this latitude, cut hard wood with a case knife.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*

BROUGHTON MEADOWS, Northampton, April 14, 1844.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent.* Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—*Job.* xvii. 8.

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at this office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadel.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
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Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

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